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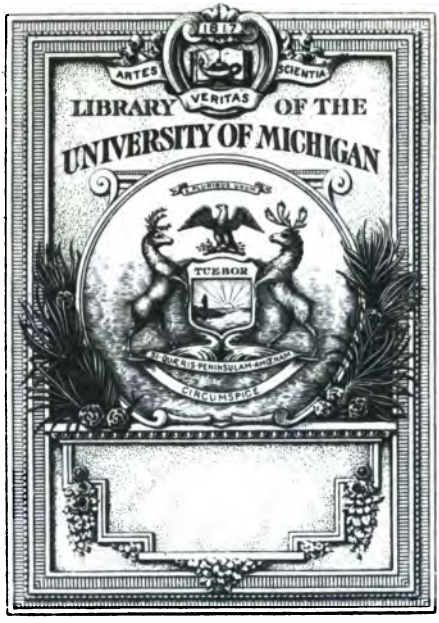

THE GIFT OF
Henry Bicknell

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Henry Bicknell.

THE

WORKS

OF

JOHN SHEFFIELD,

EARL of MULGRAVE,

MARQUIS of NORMANBY,

AND

Duke of *BUCKINGHAM.*

VOL. II.

The Second Edition Corrected.

LONDON,

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M.DCC.XXIX.

gt Henry Bicknell

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MEMOIRS

OF

HIS GRACE

JOHN

Duke of *Buckingham.*

Written by Himſelf.

MEMOIRS.

AVING obſerved that Memoirs and Accounts of perſons tho' not very conſiderable, when written by themſelves, have been greedily read, and often found uſeful; not only for the knowledge of things paſt, but as cautions for the fu-

ture: I have choſen to imploy ſome part of that leiſure (which I have had by intervals, and which by reaſon of decaying health and vigour I know not how to ſpend better) in ſetting down exactly and impartially all I could remember of my ſelf, fit to be made publick; a kind of picture left behind me to my friends and family, very like, tho' neither well painted, nor handſome.

I ſhall begin it at the age of ſeventeen; when hearing every where the Earl of OSSORY commended, for being a Voluntier that ſummer in a hot engagement at ſea; I went thither directly, on board that ſhip, in which Prince RUPERT and the Duke of ALBEMARLE jointly commanded the Fleet againſt the *Dutch*.

THEIR uſage of me was ſo civil, and the company on board them ſo good: that (tho' by a ſudden ſtorm that parted the two Fleets juſt ready to engage, I loſt ſix weeks time there, at an age when it may be a great deal more pleaſantly ſpent) yet I ſtay'd 'till the Fleet was laid up, not only without impatience, but any ſort of uneaſineſs.

YET 'tis obſervable, that the firſt night we came to *London*, the Lord BLANY, Sir THOMAS CLIFFORD afterwards Lord Treaſurer,

Mr. HENRY SAVILL, and my ſelf (tho' ſuch familiar friends, as to be very often together for many years after) were then ſo ſatiated and cloy'd with each other by our being ſhut up together ſo long in one ſhip, that I remember we avoided one another's company at leaſt for a whole month after; tho' except my ſelf, there could hardly be any more pleaſant.

WHILE I was in that ſhip with Prince RUPERT and the Duke of ALBEMARLE, I obſerved the latter to leave all things to the conduct and skill of the other; declaring modeſtly upon all occaſions himſelf to be no Seaman. And yet there happened once a hot diſpute between them, which will ſhew ſome part of that Duke's character. When we firſt eſpied the *Dutch* fleet ſailing towards us, our whole blue ſquadron was aſtern much farther from us; ſo that Prince RUPERT thought it abſolutely neceſſary to ſlacken ſail, that they might have time to join us. But the Duke of ALBEMARLE oppoſed it eagerly; undertaking that the ſhip in which they were, with about twenty ſhips more, would prove ſufficient to beat all the enemies fleet; at leaſt, hold them in play 'till the reſt of ours came up. The Prince, aſtoniſhed at ſuch an unaccountable intrepi-

dity, made us ſmile to ſee him take on himſelf the timorous, cautious, and prudential part, which did not uſe to be his cuſtom; he declared he would never conſent to ſuch a raſhneſs as might very probably coſt us the loſs of our Admiral's ſhip, and conſequently of our whole fleet afterwards; which obliged the good old man to yield at laſt, but with a great deal of reluctance.

As ſoon as the bloody flag was ſet up, before the ſtorm aroſe which parted us, Mr. SAVILL and my ſelf being on the quarter-deck, 'ſpied him charging a very little piſtol, and putting it in his pocket: which was ſo odd a ſort of a weapon on ſuch an occaſion, that we two could imagine no reaſon for it, except his having taken a reſolution of going down into the powder-room to blow up the ſhip, in caſe at any time it ſhould be in danger of being taken: For he had often ſaid he would anſwer for nothing, but that we ſhould never be carried into *Holland*: and therefore Mr. SAVILL and I, in a laughing way, moſt mutinouſly reſolved to throw him overboard, in caſe we ſhould ever catch him going down to the powder-room.

OUR fleet happening afterwards to go near the ſhore to take in freſh water, Prince

RU-

RUPERT dined with a gentleman who lived thereabouts; and returning on board in a little boat with only the Lord BLANY and my ſelf, there happened ſo ſudden and violent a ſtorm, that we did not like it; and Prince RUPERT began to talk of Prince MAURICE's being caſt away by a like accident; upon which, I could not but reflect on my family alſo, ſince my grandfather and three of his brothers had been drowned. The Lord BLANY hearing all this, made us ſmile in the midſt of our danger, by ſwearing, that tho' he liked our company, he wiſh'd himſelf out of it, and in any other boat whatſoever; ſince he feared the ill fortune of our two families wou'd ſink him.

THIS was the laſt year of the firſt *Dutch* War; yet before it ended, they burnt ſome of our beſt ſhips at *Chatham*, and deſign'd to make a deſcent upon our coaſts; which occaſion'd the raiſing of ſeveral independent troops of horſe; of which I had one given me, and was ſo fooliſhly fond of it, (being my firſt military command) that I indured my quarters at *Dover* as contentedly, and was as ſorry for being disbanded upon the Peace, as if I had been a meer ſoldier of fortune.

AT the next meeting of Parliament, I receiv'd a writ to ſit there; and being known by every body to be younger by three years than the prefixed age for the voting in the *Houſe of Peers*, it was oppoſed by ALGERNOON Earl of NORTHUMBERLAND, who very gravely moved, that they would rather exclude Lords till ſome years above the age of one and twenty, inſtead of admitting one ſo much younger. In this he certainly was in the right; and I acquieſced in it the more willingly, becauſe that heat of youth (which was his objection) made me a great deal more inclined to ſomething elſe, than to ſitting there. Accordingly I followed it with too much eagerneſs, and without interruption, 'till the ſecond *Dutch* war: During this time, and heat of temper, I had the good fortune not to be ingaged in more than one quarrel; but that had ſomewhat in it ſingular enough to be related. I was informed that the Earl of ROCHESTER had ſaid ſomething of me, which, according to his cuſtom, was very malicious; I therefore ſent Colonel ASTON, a very mettled friend of mine, to call him to account for it. He denied the words, and indeed I was ſoon convinced he had never ſaid them; but the

meer

meer report, tho' I found it to be falſe, obliged me (as I then fooliſhly thought) to go on with the quarrel; and the next day was appointed for us to fight on horſeback, a way in *England* a little unuſual, but it was his part to chuſe. Accordingly I and my Second lay the night before at *Knightsbridge* privately, to avoid the being ſecured at *London* upon any ſuſpicion; which yet we found our ſelves more in danger of there, becauſe we had all the appearance of Highway-men that had a mind to lie skulking in an odd Inn, for one night; but this I ſuppoſe the people of that houſe were uſed to, and ſo took no notice of us, but liked us the better. In the morning we met the Lord ROCHESTER at the place appointed, who, inſtead of JAMES PORTER whom he aſſured ASTON he would make his Second, brought an errant Life-guard-man whom no body knew. To this Mr. ASTON took exception, upon the account of his being no ſuitable adverſary; eſpecially conſidering how extreamly well he was mounted, whereas we had only a couple of pads: Upon which, we all agreed to fight on foot. But, as my Lord ROCHESTER and I were riding into the next field in order to it, he told me, that he had

had at firſt choſen to fight on horſeback, becauſe he was ſo weak with a certain diſtemper, that he found himſelf unfit to fight at all any way, much leſs a-foot. I was extreamly ſurpriz'd, becauſe at that time no man had a better reputation for courage; and (my anger againſt him being quite over, becauſe I was ſatisfied that he never ſpoke thoſe words I reſented) I took the liberty of repreſenting what a ridiculous ſtory it would make, if we returned without fighting; and therefore adviſed him for both our ſakes, eſpecially for his own, to conſider better of it; ſince I muſt be obliged in my own defence to lay the fault on him by telling the truth of the matter. His anſwer was, that he ſubmitted to it; and hoped that I would not deſire the advantage of having to do with any man in ſo weak a condition. I replied, that by ſuch an argument he had ſufficiently tied my hands, upon condition I might call our Seconds to be witneſſes of the whole buſineſs; which he conſented to, and ſo we parted. When we returned to *London*, we found it full of this quarrel, upon our being abſent ſo long; and therefore Mr. ASTON thought himſelf obliged to write down every word and circumſtance of this

this whole matter, in order to ſpread every where the true reaſon of our returning without having fought; which being never in the leaſt either contradicted or reſented by the Lord ROCHESTER, intirely ruined his reputation as to Courage, (of which I was really ſorry to be the occaſion) tho' no body had ſtill a greater as to Wit; which ſupported him pretty well in the world, notwithſtanding ſome more accidents of the ſame kind, that never fail to ſucceed one another when once people know a man's weakneſs.

WITHIN a few years after, a war againſt the *Dutch* was again declared, tho' not 'till a ſquadron of our ſhips had endeavoured to intercept and ſurpriſe their *Smyrna* fleet a little unfairly: of which deſign we failed very oddly, and by a fault that had certainly been puniſhed under a wiſe adminiſtration. Sir EDWARD SPRAGG, who heard nothing of the war, returned home in company with thoſe very *Smyrna* merchants: and with his whole ſquadron ſailing faſter than they, paſſed by ours that lay in wait for them; and yet Sir ROBERT HOLMES, our commander, and alone truſted with the ſecret, would not ſo much as communicate it to Sir EDWARD SPRAGG,

SPRAGG, becauſe he muſt have commanded both ſquadrons (as being the ſuperiour officer) and conſequently deprive him of a prize, which, inſtead of that, proved an errant Tartar: For the *Smyrna* merchants, together with their *Dutch* convoy, made their part good againſt Sir ROBERT HOLMES's ſquadron; and ſo got ſafe home, meerly for want of Sir EDWARD SPRAGG's being called to his aſſiſtance.

THE Duke of YORK, always eager after a military fame, and Admiral of *England*, commanded the fleet in perſon that ſummer: which made me go a Voluntier once more, tho' I confeſs not with half ſo good a will as before; my heart being ingaged violently at that time, and I can never forget the tenderneſs of our parting.

I waited on the Duke in his own ſhip, where I intended to ſtay; but meeting the Earl of OSSORY there, who was both my kinſman and friend, and commanded the *Victory*, a Second-rate ſhip; he invited me ſo earneſtly to be with him, that I accepted his kindneſs; and afterwards found I could not have been any where elſe ſo well, on ſeveral accounts; ſince no man ever

ever did more bravely than he, on all occaſions.

SOON after, I had ſome experience of the Duke's firmneſs in any reſolution he had once taken; for tho' he grew ſo very kind to me, as to favour me in much greater matters, yet I could never prevail on him to grant me one requeſt, which at that time I thought it a little hard to be denied. My requeſt was, that if in the next ingagement he perceived any ſhip to fail of doing its duty, by reaſon of her Captain's being killed (which was but too uſual) he would then ſend me an order to go on board and command her immediately; whereby, inſtead of being an inſignificant Voluntier, I might have an opportunity of doing the fleet ſome ſervice, and of gaining ſome honour. But tho' he knew it well, and allowed the reaſon of the thing, as being the only way of making the Voluntiers uſeful; yet he counted it too great an alteration of the ſettled orders, which gave the Lieutenant in ſuch a caſe the ſame power which his Captain before had, tho' ſeldom found to make good uſe of it.

OUR

OUR ſcouts having been negligent, DE RUITER with his whole fleet ſurprized ours at *South-wold Bay*; ſo that weighing anchor in great haſte, we had much ado to defend our ſelves from their Fire-ſhips: DE RUITER himſelf was ſeen nobly to go in a boat from ſhip to ſhip, to direct and animate his men, ordering all his ſhips to attack only our great ones; which, not being much above twenty, were hard put to it by ſo great a number of theirs. Yet the enemy had no ſucceſs to boaſt of, except the burning our *Royal James*; which, having on board her, not only a thouſand of our beſt men, but the Earl of SANDWYCH himſelf Vice-Admiral of *England*, was enough almoſt to ſtile it a victory on their ſide, ſince his merit as to ſea-affairs was moſt extraordinary in all kinds. He dined in Mr. DIGBY's ſhip the day before the battle, when no body dreamt of fighting, and ſhewed a gloomy diſcontent ſo contrary to his uſual chearful humour, that we even then all took notice of it; but much more, afterwards.

THE enemy alſo was once maſter of the *Royal Katherine*, and had ſent away her Captain Sir JOHN CHICHELY with moſt of

her men, to be kept priſoners in other ſhips; a few only remaining there, whom they ſtowed under hatches, with a guard over them. But the boatſwain being among them, with his whiſtle encouraged the reſt to knock down all the ſentinels firſt, and then to fall on the *Dutch* above deck; by which briſk action they redeemed that conſiderable ſhip. The boatſwain's name was SMALL, whom I had opportunity of knowing well afterwards when I had the command of that ſhip. He was a *Nonconformiſt*, always ſober, meek, and quiet, (even too mild for that buſtling ſort of employment) and very often gave me an image of thoſe enthuſiaſtick people who did ſuch brave things in our late *Civil War*: for he ſeemed rather a Shepherd than a Soldier; and was a kind of heroe in the ſhape of a ſaint.

BUT the Duke of YORK himſelf had the nobleſt ſhare in this day's action; for, when his ſhip was ſo maim'd as to be made incapable of ſervice, he made her lie by, to refit, and went on board another that was hotly engaged, where he kept up his ſtandard 'till ſhe was diſabled alſo; and then left her for a third, in order to renew the fight, which

which laſted from break of day till ſun-ſet. About which time, the whole *French* ſquadron happen'd to ſail cloſe by the Lord OSSORY's ſhip; and I well remember there did not appear ſo many ſhot in them all, as in his Lordſhip's ſingle ſhip; whoſe condition therefore was judged too bad to keep the ſea any longer. I then found by experience in this engagement, how much there is of cuſtom in the matter of courage, which makes old troops ſo formidable: for in the morning when the enemy's great ſhot came on both ſides of us, I thought it impoſſible to 'ſcape without loſing a limb at leaſt, and was accordingly pretty uneaſy; but, about the afternoon, when the broad-ſides came only one way, though without interruption, I began to grow a little leſs ſenſible of the danger, which yet I was very glad to ſee ended at night. By that time I was very ſufficiently tired; but yet had much ado to ſleep, by reaſon of the noiſe ſtill ſounding in my ears; which remained ſo for ſome hours, juſt as if the ſhooting had ſtill continued. I obſerved alſo two things, which I dare affirm, tho' not generally believ'd. One was, that the wind of a cannon-bullet,

tho'

tho' flying never ſo near, is incapable of doing the leaſt harm; and indeed, were it otherwiſe, no man above deck would eſcape. The other was, that a great ſhot may be ſometimes avoided even as it flies, by changing one's ground a little; for, when the wind ſometimes blew away the ſmoak, it was ſo clear a ſun-ſhiny day, that we could eaſily perceive the bullets (that were half ſpent) fall in the water, and from thence bound up again among us; which gives ſufficient time for making a ſtep or two on any ſide; tho' in ſo ſwift a motion, 'tis hard to judge well in what line the bullet comes; which, if miſtaken, may by removing coſt a man his life, inſtead of ſaving it.

As ſoon as I came to *London*, (whither I made all the haſte imaginable for reaſons not hard to gueſs) I found by my reception every where, that my Lord Ossory's kind and partial Letters had arrived there before me; for the King made me ſome particular complements, and offered me the choice of commanding the *Henry* or the *Royal Katherine*; the Captain of the firſt having been killed, and the other taken priſoner. I choſe the *Katherine*; and, ſince I had been ſo fond of a troop of

horſe, 'tis no wonder I was now extreamly pleaſed with the command of a royal ſhip, better in all reſpects than my Lord OSSORY's, and of a rate above what I could have pretended to; for even he, who was ſo much more conſiderable on all accounts, had only a third rate ſhip granted him at firſt, whereas the *Katherine* was then the beſt of all the ſecond rates.

MEMOIRS

In the REIGN of

CHARLES II.

MEMOIRS

In the REIGN of

CHARLES II.

HAVE found much more ſatisfaction, and, I may ſay, inſtruction too, from thoſe ſmall pieces of hiſtory called *Memoirs*, than in reading all the *Greek* and *Roman* hiſtorians: the reaſon of which would

require a digreſſion too long for this place. But my own experience of this, is ſufficient to make me do as I would be done by, in a matter ſo eaſy for me; and to give as particular an account of ſome few things I know, as I ſhould be glad to have from others, about thoſe many conſiderable affairs of which I am ignorant.

THAT which confirms me in the opinion, that even this ſlight account will be in ſome meaſure uſeful, is the exact impartiality I am reſolved to obſerve in it. Tho', I confeſs, it remained a difficulty with me, a good while, how to lay aſide intirely, not only my inclinations, but my obligations alſo; which latter, methought, it was a kind of ingratitude to ſuſpend the thoughts of, tho' but for a moment: Yet, without doing this, I thought it would be as ridiculous to write (tho' like moſt other authors) as to publiſh my dreams, or expoſe all the follies of my own paſſions.

NOTWITHSTANDING this, I would not have all I ſay, taken for infallible, except only the matters of fact. For, as to the deſigns of men, and the true reaſons of their acting, affairs of this world are like a dye, with many ſides on it, and one gameſter

can

can only ſee thoſe which are turn'd towards him. But then, if others would diſcover as much, we might hope the true *Memoirs*, would make a little amends for the frequent *perjuries*, of our times; and in thoſe at leaſt we might find the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth.

IN the year 1672, Monſieur DE SCHOMBERG was invited into *England*, to command the new-raiſed army incamped on *Blackheath*, which at firſt was under the * Duke of BUCKINGHAM only, who had a commiſſion of Lieutenant-General. But he being no great ſoldier, and on ill terms with the Duke of YORK, who influenced all our military affairs at that time, it was thought convenient to join with him a perſon of ſuch reputation as SCHOMBERG. And he was choſen the rather, becauſe his advancement in *France*, next to his own good conduct, was owing chiefly to the Duke of YORK, when in that ſervice: For by the ancient treaties between *France* and *Scotland*, the Duke of ALBANY having always the diſpoſal of their *Scotch* Guards; the *French* King made him the complement of leaving the commander of them to his choice, which he fixed on Monſieur DE SCHOMBERG.

* GEORGE VILLERS Duke of *Buckingham*.

As ſoon as he arrived, partly on account of his great reputation and ſucceſs in *Portugal*, and partly incouraged to it by his friends, or rather the Duke of BUCKINGHAM's enemies, he refuſed to ſerve equally with him, and ſo obtained a commiſſion to be General; upon which, as was expected, the other quitted the ſervice immediately.

JUST at this time the Duke of MONMOUTH was ſetting up in *France* to be a ſoldier; and being ſo favoured at *Maeſtrich* by the *French* King, as to have a ſure and eaſy attacque kept back on purpoſe 'till his day came of commanding; the credit here of that action, (tho' only a noble ſort of preſent from that Prince's generoſity and friendſhip for his Father) ſufficed to give him a reputation ever after. Our fleet was now ready to ſail, together with the new-raiſed army, to make a deſcent in *Holland*; the whole commanded in chief by Prince RUPERT, with the title of Generaliſſimo.

I am apt to believe there never was ſeen before ſo great a fleet, as this of ours when the *French* ſquadron join'd with it; conveying 8000 Land-ſoldiers all ſhipp'd in ſmall veſſels, which was ſome addition to the

the magnificence of ſo terrible, and yet ſo goodly a ſpectacle.

THE reaſon why the Duke of YORK, whoſe heart was ſet on ſuch things, did not ſhine as the year before, at the head of all theſe troops, was his refuſing the Teſt paſſed in Parliament the laſt winter on purpoſe to exclude him; ſo that, as ſoon as ever his enemies had ſet the ſnare, he fell into it.

THE *Greyhound*, being the beſt of thoſe ſmall veſſels which accompanied the fleet, was choſen by Monſieur DE SCHOMBERG for himſelf and me, who happened to ſerve in that expedition under him, and with whom I had the good fortune to live in ſome familiarity and friendſhip.

THERE being often occaſion of our ſpeaking with other officers, who, in hazy-weather eſpecially, were at a loſs ſometimes how to find out the *Greyhound* in the midſt of ſuch a multitude of other ſhips; Monſieur DE SCHOMBERG inquired of me one day, if it might not be proper to hang up ſomething for a ſignal, by which all the Land-officers might know whither to repair, either to give account of their condition, or to receive his orders. I preſently anſwered, that, tho'

laſt

laſt ſummer I had the honour of commanding a great ſhip, yet I was but a young Seaman; and therefore only adviſed him to conſult with CLEMENT the captain of the *Greyhound*, who by right alſo was to be principally regarded in his own ſhip. Captain CLEMENT was ſent for, and preſently conſented to a thing which he thought not only reaſonable but neceſſary to prevent delays or miſtakes: which made the General, according to his accuſtomed civility, ask my conſent to hang up in the ſhrouds one of the colours of my own regiment that happened to lie then on the deck; ſaying that he choſe ſuch a ſort of ſignal, as more proper for him to make uſe of, than any of thoſe which belonged to the Sea. But it had not been ſet up half an hour, when both of us ſitting together on the quarter-deck, heard a bullet whizzing over our heads, and another in the ſame manner preſently after; at which we began to think cannon bullets that came ſo near a little worth the minding; but were extremely ſurprized to perceive they came from the Admiral.

BY this time Captain CLEMENT was alarmed alſo; and he confirming the General's apprehenſion of Prince RUPERT's diſliking

king his ſignal, was ſent immediately to explain the occaſion of its being ſet up, and to receive the Prince's orders either in that or any thing elſe, which ſhould inſtantly be obeyed.

BUT the Prince in the mean time ſent Lieutenant WHITLY with his poſitive command to pull down the flag; who arriving on board the *Greyhound* juſt after Captain CLEMENT had been ſent away, it was thought ſo impoſſible for the Prince to remain unſatisfied after he ſhould hear CLEMENT about it, that WHITLY was deſired to return with this reſpectful anſwer, That if his Highneſs continued in the ſame mind after hearing the occaſion from Captain CLEMENT, the flag ſhould be taken down immediately. But the Prince, ſeeing WHITLY's boat come from the *Greyhound* without the flag's being taken down, and Captain CLEMENT juſt arrived on board him, in great anger orders him to be clapp'd into the bilboes, without ſo much as hearing either him, or his meſſage: and commanded his Gunner to ſink the *Greyhound* immediately if the flag was not taken down.

IN ſuch a caſe of extremity, the Volunteers of quality on board the Prince took the

the liberty of interpoſing a little, and conjured him to have only the patience of letting ſome of them go preſently to the *Greyhound*, in order to prevent any miſunderſtanding; conſidering that ſome allowance might be made for a miſtake in a land-officer and a ſtranger. It was not hard for perſons of that rank (among whom was the Earl of CARLISLE, a Privy Counſellor, and what was more, a great friend of the Prince's) to be connived at in going immediately on board the *Greyhound*; and it was as eaſy for them to perſuade us all immediately to pull down our flag rather than be ſunk. But neither they, nor I, who was a little concerned with him in the ill uſage, were able to pacify the General; who interpreted all this harſh way of proceeding, as coming from an old pique in Prince RUPERT, who was too well-bred otherwiſe to uſe an old acquaintance and a foreigner in ſuch a brutal manner, as he called it.

THE Court was inclined before, not to be over-partial to Prince RUPERT, who ſeem'd as jealous as any body of its growing arbitrary by any great ſucceſs over *Holland*, though himſelf was Generaliſſimo againſt it; and I was obliged to write an account

count of it to the King ſo plainly and impartially, that all the Prince's complaints on his ſide were inſignificant; which, added to his jealouſy of the Court, incited him to command away all the land-forces to *Yarmouth*; where they lay incamped all ſummer by the ſea-ſide, without being ever reimbarked, or able to do the leaſt ſervice. Monſieur DE SCHOMBERG obeyed, but took no leave of the Prince, and ingaged me preſently to carry him a challenge after the expedition was over; which the King prevented, tho' not out of kindneſs to either of them: For as he was unſatisfied with the Prince's conduct that ſummer, ſo Monſieur DE SCHOMBERG's popularity, among the diſaffected gentlemen in the country, was unjuſtly repreſented to his prejudice by ſome Papiſts there, who took his affable ſort of behaviour (which he thought neceſſary in a ſtranger, intending to ſettle here) for a factious deſign of complying with the country Party.

THIS was the cauſe of the Duke of MONMOUTH's advancement; for the Duke of YORK, eſteeming his forwardneſs and inclination to the war, thought him the fitteſt perſon to be ſet up againſt SCHOMBERG, from

from whom he was now perfectly alienated; and ſo made his court to the King at the ſame time by recommending his beloved Son to be at the head of our military affairs, which himſelf hoped to influence ſtill by that means. Yet SCHOMBERG's ſtaying here, to which he was inclined by his diſpoſition as well as religion, had been an invincible obſtacle to all theſe deſigns; if the diſguſt he took at being refuſed the Garter, had not ſoon contributed to his leaving us; which favour it ſeems he had long deſired, tho' ſo privately, that I happened to receive the promiſe of it in his camp at *Yarmouth*, without having the leaſt imagination that my General had been my rival; who reſented it a little the more, becauſe it was then beſtowed on one who was but a Colonel under him. Thus all things concurr'd with the Duke of MONMOUTH's ambition, as ſoon as Prince RUPERT was out of favour, and the Duke of YORK out of capacity, by reaſon of the late Teſt againſt *Papiſts*.

THERE was yet one thing more, which in exactneſs I muſt not omit, that much contributed to this young man's advancement; I mean the great friendſhip which the Duke of YORK had openly profeſſed to his Wife,

a lady of wit, and reputation; who had both the ambition of making her husband conſiderable, and the addreſs of ſucceeding in it, by uſing her intereſt in ſo friendly an Uncle, whoſe deſign I believe was only to convert her. Whether this familiarity of theirs was contrived, or only connived at by the Duke of MONMOUTH himſelf, is hard to determine: But I well remember that after theſe two Princes had become declared enemies, the Duke of YORK one day told me with ſome emotion, as conceiving it a new mark of his nephew's inſolence, that he had forbidden his wife to receive any more viſits from him. At which I could not forbear frankly replying, that I who was not uſed to excuſe him, yet could not hold from doing it in that caſe; wiſhing his Highneſs might have no juſter cauſe to complain of him. Upon which the Duke, ſurprized to find me excuſe his and my own enemy, changed the diſcourſe immediately.

THE firſt ſtep of the Duke of MONMOUTH's riſing to authority in the army, was his being intruſted with the care, tho' not the command of it; which the Lord ARLINGTON conſented to (notwithſtanding in *France*, 'tis a part of his province, as chief Secretary

tary of State) both in friendſhip to him, and for his own eaſe, ſince it ſaved him the trouble of ſuch affairs, without diminution either to his power or profit; ſince all commiſſions ſtill paſſed through the Secretary's hands, and only orders now through the Duke's. The ſecond advance he made, was the King's ſending his commands to every Colonel that they ſhould obey all directions which came from the Duke of MONMOUTH. This wanted but the formality of a commiſſion to make him an abſolute General; and yet even thus far the Duke of YORK aſſiſted him, ſo blinded he was by his fondneſs of either husband or wife, or rather I think of both together.

BUT now an odd accident, only worth relating on that account, will let us ſee the great uncertainty of court affairs, as well as the ignorance of thoſe who moſt commonly write of them; very gravely attributing to prudence, or providence, what is often nothing elſe but humour, love, or jealouſy: For, notwithſtanding all this intimacy between the Duke of YORK, and his Nephew; ſuch a firm one, that even a direct contrary intereſt was unable to weaken; yet a little inconſtancy in one of their Miſtreſſes, tho'

in favour of a third perſon, was the accidental cauſe of ſuch a diviſion between them, as never ceas'd till it coſt one of them the hazard of his Crown, and the other that of his Life on a Scaffold.

ALL which, in compliance with your commands, ſhall be ſet down freely and faithfully, tho' not poſſible to be recounted without too frequent mention of my ſelf.

AT our return from *Yarmouth*, the old *Holland* regiment was given me, and joined to another I had raiſed; by which I remain'd in command after the peace, when all our new Colonels were disbanded. This, I ſuppoſe, made thoſe two Dukes think of me ſoon after for commanding the firſt regiment of Foot-guards, and deſign'd the King ſhould buy Colonel RUSSEL out of it for that purpoſe; having before prevailed with the good Lord CRAVEN to let me come over his head, who commanded the ſecond regiment. But juſt while this was ſettling, the Duke of MONMOUTH, ever ingaged in ſome Amour, falls into great Anger againſt me, for an unlucky diſcovery that made too much noiſe in the Court at that time.

He had always great temper, and therefore offered no affront on the place; but wanted not the cunning to revenge himſelf a better way, by privately obtaining a promiſe of the King to let him have that command which was deſigned for me: foreſeeing then his own would become void, and perhaps be given to me, he propoſed the Earl of Ossory for that, againſt whom there could be no objection; ſo ſtopping up my way in both places.

The Duke of York having openly made us friends, ſuſpected no ſuch artifice and counterplotting in his Nephew as he found him but too capable of afterwards, in a much greater matter: Accordingly he thought it time to move the King about that alteration in the Guards, not in the leaſt apprehending a repulſe. For the King, tho' of more Wit than moſt of thoſe who influenced him, had that *Foible* of his Family to be eaſily impoſed on; ſo that it was a conſtant method among his Miniſters, firſt to ſettle what they agreed to be done, and then offer it to the King; like an Act of Parliament, to which the negative voice is ſeldom apprehended.

BUT now that way of proceeding was the loſs of our buſineſs, and the deſign miſcarried only by the cloſeneſs of its management: For, the King aſſured his Brother, that never dreaming of this his propoſal he was ingaged already, but yet to another of his great friends; and then naming him, wondred at his being no ſooner acquainted with it.

THE Duke was pleaſed to tell me this preſently with great reſentment, not only for my diſappointment, but that an alteration ſhould be reſolved on in the two beſt commands of the army, without his being firſt acquainted with it. It was natural for a man who loſt his pretenſion, not to leſſen this concern in the Duke; and therefore I, who during the Duke of MONMOUTH's quarrel to me, had often tried in vain to ſhake his intereſt in that Prince, would not loſe ſo fair an occaſion to part them for ever.

I told him therefore of how little importance my own ſhare in this buſineſs was, which I found amply recompenſed by his being ſo much concerned about it. But I confeſs'd my ſelf extreamly troubled at

another part of this affair, which gave me a ſtrange ſort of ſuſpicion. The Duke could not fail to inquire what it was, and with a ſeeming reluctance I explained it. That the Duke of MONMOUTH's own command of the horſe life-guard, was better than Colonel RUSSEL's regiment of foot, both for honour and profit; and therefore he would hardly change it thus, without ſome ill deſign, to which twenty four companies of foot might be more uſeful, than a ſingle troop of horſe.

THAT, diſappointing of me, was not his only aim; ſince he might have had that ſatisfaction as well by getting the Earl of OSSORY into that regiment, without taking it himſelf by leaving a better poſt for it.

AS the Duke grew warm at this, I ingag'd him more, by freely quitting my own pretenſion, if his Highneſs could find a truſty man for it, whom the Duke of MONMOUTH could have no pretence to oppoſe, as he did me, on account of our quarrel; repreſenting it to be a poſt of ſuch conſequence, that, one day, perhaps, no leſs a thing than the Crown of *England* might depend on it.

THE

THE Duke accepted kindly the laying down my pretenſion, and propoſed ſome others for that command, but to no purpoſe: For, the King reproach'd him with oppoſing a thing already ſettled between Himſelf and his Son. Upon which almoſt in deſpair, he tried a little with my Lord ARLINGTON, the Duke of MONMOUTH's great Adviſer at that time; freely making him underſtand, That if the Duke of MONMOUTH would not deſiſt of himſelf from preſſing it any farther, he muſt loſe his friendſhip, which had been ſo uſeful to him; and conſequently, pay too dear a price for what was but a trifle in compariſon with it: To which, that dextrous Miniſter replied ſomething haughtily, That the Duke of MONMOUTH could not need his favour more than his Highneſs needed the King's, which he might hazard to leſſen, by thus croſſing his inclinations for ſo beloved a Son.

WITH this ſurpriſing anſwer from a Secretary of State, the Duke grew more concern'd than ever; and at laſt was driven on the only expedient now left; which, in the firſt place, ſerv'd the Duke's intereſt by ſe-

curing that employment in ſafe hands; and, next, my own revenge, in keeping the Duke of MONMOUTH out of it. He was adviſed therefore to ſend immediately for Colone RUSSEL, who was very covetous, and by any means whatſoever, *viz.* by any money, to charm him out of his reſolution to ſell his command; which the King was ſo far from impoſing on an ancient officer of ſuch merit and quality, that he kindly aſſur'd him, no ſuch change had ever been thought of, if Mr. RUSSEL himſelf had not ask'd the favour of ſelling his command, for the good of his Heir. What paſſed between the Duke and RUSSEL, is not hard to gueſs; for, the latter kept his command by pretending to the King, that, when it came to the point, he could not find in his heart to quit his ſervice, and deſired to die in it: But upon all this matter followed ſuch an animoſity between thoſe two Princes, as will ſerve to fill our Annals with the fatal effects of it, while yet this firſt occaſion of their breach is not like to be ſo much as mentioned.

THE Turns of Court are ſuch, that, after all this buſtle and compoſition between us about this regiment of Guards; a third perſon

ſon not then thought of for ſuch a command, nor ſo much as in the army, luckily got it from us both by the Duke of YORK's being abſent in *Scotland*, and RUSSEL's quitting his intereſt, on account of the Popiſh Plot; and ſo renewing his deſire to ſell. The Duke of MONMOUTH at that time was in ſuch disfavour, as to have his Government of *Hull* and Lord-Lieutenancy of *Yorkſhire* given to me; which, with the old *Holland* regiment I had before, was already more than, being ſo young, I could reaſonably pretend to. The King therefore, at laſt, bought that command of Colonel RUSSEL for his other Son the Duke of GRAFTON. What appears in this Story moſt remarkable, is the probability that in thoſe early days the Duke of MONMOUTH had ſome thoughts of what he attempted afterward; and the ſuſpicion of him thus accidentally infuſed into the Duke of YORK, was not without ſome ground: Since that regiment conſiſted of Two thouſand four hundred men, a great part of our little army, always kept together; and quartered in *London*, when the other few regiments were ſeparated into all the Garriſons of *England*.

THIS appear'd ſufficiently at King CHARLES's death, when it had not been impoſſible for the Duke of MONMOUTH to ſucceed him, if he had then flouriſhed in Court at the head of ſo conſiderable a regiment.

THE

THE CHARACTER OF A TORY,

In ANSWER to That of a

TRIMMER:

Both written in King CHARLES's Reign.

THE

PREFACE.

I *SHALL begin my* PREFACE *with a Paradox, and aſſure the reader moſt ſolemnly, That neither favour nor faction, intereſt nor vanity, neither the deſign of helping my friends, or of hurting my enemies, have had the leaſt ſhare in this ſmall undertaking, and (which I confeſs is ſcarce credible in ſo corrupt an age) that nothing under heaven but the publick good had been able to have tempted me to expoſe my quiet, and perhaps my reputation, among a crowd of ſuch impertinent ſcriblers as at this time ſwarm among us. But it being a little unreaſonable for me to expect your belief of ſo unuſual a ſincerity, only on the bare word of a ſtranger; 'tis neceſſary by*

by that which follows, to convince my impartial reader, that I was really moved by this honeſt deſign; becauſe there could be indeed no other temptation to undertake it. For I am extreamly ſenſible that the book I am about to anſwer is written not only on a very plauſible ſubject, but with all manner of advantage and eloquence; and not an eloquence only full of fallacious colours, that fall off as ſoon as brought to the light of a ſtrict examination; but of as good and ſolid reaſons as that cauſe will bear; a cauſe too that muſt be acknowledged not unworthy of ſo able an advocate: For what is more ſelf-denying and meritorious, than to diſoblige both parties of WHIG *and* TORY, *in order only to maintain the diſintereſted name of* TRIMMER? *What is more prudent than to avoid thoſe enticing partialities on either hand, by ſteering ſo right in the middle, unprevailed on by the ſtrongeſt temptations? What is more vertuous and noble, than to keep out of all extreams, and to remain in that golden mean where alone they ſay vertue is always to be found? I ſhould ſtill go on in our* TRIMMER's *praiſe, if I*

were

were not afraid of being thought a flatterer; and that perhaps the reader might compare us to our late noble duelliſts, who inſtead of engaging heartily, agreed to ſet up for heroes, by giving each other a few ſlight hurts, and a world of commendations. Beſides this, I am but too ſenſible of a greater diſadvantage, which lies in the mighty difference there is between writing firſt on any ſubject, and anſwering what is already written; the thought of invention in the writer, and the novelty of it to the reader, are ſuch great advantages on one ſide, that more than ordinary skill is neceſſary on the other, to keep up the combat with any tolerable reputation. But I am comforted and armed againſt all theſe diſencouragements, by the great value I have for my adverſary, by whom it were no ſhame to be worſted, and by my cauſe, for which I ſhould think it ſome glory to ſuffer, out of my too much zeal to maintain it: And though I call him my adverſary, 'tis by cuſtom, and for diſtinction ſake, ſince I doubt not but we both contend alike for truth, and for the benefit of our deareſt country; and therefore, ſurely, have no more

reaſon to be angry with one another, than any two adventurers who ſearch for the ſame treaſure, tho' in different mines, and by different methods.

The

The Character of a TORY, *&c. in* 1679. *In Anſwer to That of a* TRIMMER, *and written at the ſame Time, but never printed.*

IN the firſt place I muſt lay down one neceſſary Obſervation to be remembred throughout this whole diſcourſe, that a multitude of wiſe and vertuous ſayings are ſo intermixed with our TRIMMER's particular

ticular opinions, that it is indeed the principal part of my work only to diſtinguiſh thoſe uncontroverted points from the reſt. And I cannot imagine why ſuch plain undeniable truths are aſſerted with ſo much eloquence, unleſs in them to wrap up the more dangerous opinions, which otherwiſe could hardly be ſwallowed by any unprejudiced reader. I confeſs I ſo much reverence his good reaſoning ſometimes, that I cannot but grieve at his bad; and am aſtoniſh'd to find the ſame man capable of ſo unequal a mixture: yet after all, ſuch is human nature at the beſt, and who alas can help it? We were not men but angels, if we always thought as wiſely as this TRIMMER does ſometimes; but I muſt have leave alſo to ſay, we ſhould be ſcarcely reaſonable creatures, if ſuch groſs errors as his are, could be capable of deceiving us: however the very good reflections that he makes ſometimes, deſerve excuſe for his bad ones; which alſo at the ſame time they are condemned, yet claim methinks a kind of reſpect due to ſuch illuſtrious criminals.

To begin the trial, I join iſſue with him in believing it a fault of government, when they at the bar ſeem to dictate laws, that

is,

is, domineer over thoſe on the bench; but ſure 'tis not ſo great a proof of learning in the lawyer, and of ignorance in the judge, as of arrogance in the one and remiſſneſs in the other. Nor can I ſee why a criminal's own proteſtation of his innocence, may not be as good an argument at any time to prove it, and perſuade the people to believe it, as the reputation of his advocate, tho' never ſo learned, who is bound to plead for him or any body elſe that gives him a fee. Sure, neither the perſon accuſed, nor he that pleads for him, can in reaſon be ſo credible in their own caſe, as the Twelve Judges, whom the wiſe always ſubmit to, if they are able ones, in reaſon; and if they are ignorant, in prudence; becauſe in all matters whatſoever, there muſt be ſome perſons refer'd to on both ſides, without appeal to the People; who, tho' perhaps in other matters, as trade, &c. they ſeldom miſtake their intereſt, yet can never be ſuppoſed impartial and judicious in caſes of this kind: Therefore my Lord BACON obſerves well, That in a Judge, popularity is a greater fault than bribery; becauſe every body is capable of flattery, but few of making preſents. So that all which the TRIMMER ſo enlarges on,

amounts to no more than this, That 'tis better for a nation to have honeſt and learned judges, than ignorant and corrupt ones; and what TORY denies it? Only in this the TORY is, ſure, the more reaſonable, that tho' he would never adviſe his Prince to chooſe ill men for judges, he would as little put the people on diſliking them when once choſen, and would attribute ſuch a miſcarriage or rather misfortune only to his Prince's not being omniſcient, and conſequently capable of being miſinformed or impoſed on. Now, methinks, this is more conſiſtent with what our TRIMMER ſays afterwards, than he is with himſelf; for certainly the way to ſuch a happy ſettlement between King and People, as that one of them ſhould be almoſt ready to adore the other, is not to quarrel with his proceedings, but rather to excuſe them, tho' never ſo faulty; for tho' our TRIMMER is ſo zealous a Courtier, as he would have his King admired like a God, I ſuppoſe he does not expect he ſhould really be one, that is, free from all manner of frailties.

WHAT our TRIMMER ſays about Armies is unanſwerable, when they are employed not for defence of the Government,

but

but either to ſet up a falſe title, or oppreſs the ſubjects under a good one. But there is a meaning in this caſe, and for all the TRIMMER's pretence to moderation, the underſtanding TORY only ſhews it, who would have ſoldiers enough to protect the Government, but not to invade it: and therefore our army in *England* (tho' perhaps our great officers may not approve it, and 'tis no matter, ſince their advice in State-matters is not like to be asked) augmented as it is, and well diſciplined as it ought to be, is but an aſſiſtance to the *Poſſe-Comitatus*, and a General, in effect, does but obey a Conſtable. Upon this ground I dare conclude, that a competent force in defence of the King's perſon and prerogative, is as neceſſary a ſupport to the Government, as the Law-courts are in *Weſtminſter-hall:* But who can help it if the TRIMMER's eyes are ſo daz'led with the glittering of a little army on *Putney-heath*, and his ears ſo ſtunn'd with trumpets and kettle-drums, that he has quite forgotten the oppoſition that has been made theſe laſt fifty years, to the undoubted right of the Crown, and conſequently to the peace of the Nation. Let him but think well of the factious and republican principles among

us, and of the unparallell'd boldneſs our nation always ſhews in the worſt deſigns as well as the beſt; and my good opinion of our TRIMMER gives me almoſt an aſſurance, that he will conclude ten thouſand ſoldiers are now as neceſſary to the King's ſafety, and the people's quiet, as ever the band of penſioners and yeomen of the guard were heretofore. And I am confident he will believe that, as in times of great oppreſſion and injuſtice, it would not be indecent for the *Houſe of Commons* to deſire moderate laws for their future preſervation againſt it, and that they ought not for that to be ſuſpected of rebellion; ſo when the ballance is too much on the other ſide, and Kings only are in the danger, 'tis ſure at leaſt as fitting and as reaſonable for them to encreaſe their guards and ſtrength, which ought not to breed the leaſt ſuſpicion in their ſubjects. So that 'tis not the uſe, but ill uſe of Armies that can be reaſonably complained of; and the TRIMMER is forced to confeſs, the beſt things are ſubject to that ſometimes; ſince he cannot deny that misfortune to have happened even in Parliaments themſelves.

I am entirely of the TRIMMER's opinion as to printing of Books only on one ſide,

and

and think it a very nauſeous partiality; and for that very reaſon I approve of the publiſhing thoſe on the Crown's part at preſent, to counterpoiſe the much greater number written of late on the people's, till at laſt ſuch a happy ſettlement may follow, that it will be, I hope, as prepoſterous to write a book in defence of loyalty, as of rebellion; no man in the world doubting the one, or endeavouring the other. 'Tis true, indeed, that perpetually cramming down peoples throats even the beſt diet, is enough to make their ſtomachs riſe againſt it; but I hope the TRIMMER will not propoſe a thing ſo partial, as to let all the libels remain unanſwered, though I confeſs, moſt of them deſerve to be ſo.

I am alſo as much as the TRIMMER againſt dividing the Sovereignty with any the neareſt Kindred, much leſs with Aſſemblies; but think neither *England* nor *Muſcovy* good inſtances of its inconvenience, which yet muſt be attributed only to our good fortune; and that being nothing but ſome leſs obſerved cauſe, I will endeavour to inform the reader as to *England*; and leave the famous pen of Sir PETER WYCHE to do as much for *Muſcovy*.

It has ſo happen'd here, that the only Brother and Heir of the Crown is a Prince indefatigable both in peace and war, and a zealous induſtrious Miniſter of State: This draws, as one may well imagine, a multitude of dependers after him, and in another Subject would have been counted a meritorious ſervice to his King and Country; but in one ſo nearly related to the Crown, is ſuſpected of ambition and deſign, by ſome of thoſe who judge at a diſtance. But I refer the TRIMMER and my ſelf to all thoſe who approach him nearer, if ever there was a conduct more diſintereſted, more humble, or more ſubmiſſively obedient; which I confeſs is ſo extraordinary a thing, that I cannot blame the TRIMMER for ſo prudent a precaution, it not being a Politician's buſineſs to depend on Miracles.

I concur intirely in believing it hardly poſſible that any foreign dangers ſhould be too ſudden for a Parliament's aſſembling; but ſure 'tis not impoſſible for aſſemblies to be factious and dilatory, even bribed to be ſo, by that very power which produces the danger? What if this ſhould happen? Why, the TRIMMER himſelf cannot but admit of the remedy; (and to ſhew my compliance

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in requital of his) he cannot more approve the thing, than I do his ſilence concerning it. For 'tis a *Sanctum Sanctorum* to be approach'd but ſeldom even by Princes, and then too with fear and reverence. I agree alſo with the TRIMMER as to Parliaments in general, and think no King of *England*, without their concurrence, can be either great abroad, or abſolute at home; and ſo I have done with his opinions about Laws and Government: My next work is to conſider what he ſays of Religion.

AND here I muſt give that due applauſe which our TRIMMER deſerves, ſince nothing can be more reaſonable, more good-natured and moral, than all his reflections on the *Roman Catholicks* and the late pretended Plot, which he ſays ought no more to involve the whole party, tho' it were real, than the Gunpowder-treaſon did before; becauſe if the crimes of particular men, were chargeable on all thoſe who profeſs the ſame principles, what might not *Atheiſts* and *Infidels* object againſt Chriſtianity it ſelf, there being no ſect in it free in all its members from moſt horrid impieties. I doubt not but our TRIMMER's ſo laudable moderation in this particular, has already found its re-

ward in that great ſatisfaction which being in the right moſt commonly brings along with it; for, before this time, he cannot but with all the world be convinced of the innocence even of the moſt ſuſpected *Catholicks*: how neceſſary then was his caution, not to proſecute all the reſt for their ſakes! But as he goes on in deploring the hard condition of them, and other diſſenters; as if there was no remedy but patience for the unreaſonable ſeverity of laws, 'till a Parliament thought fit to repeal them, tho' every man alive ſhould groan under the oppreſſion: ſure the TORY in this appears the more prudent, who can find a happy expedient in that eſſential neceſſary power belonging to all ſorts of Government, for granting any temporary diſpenſation from penalties too hard to be inflicted, and too heavy to be endured.

AND when we conſider how the very law of nature allows, nay, obliges us in ſome extraordinary exigents, to kill another, rather than ſuffer ſome ſort of oppreſſion and violence; and that conſequently every man in ſuch caſes hath a diſpenſing power within himſelf to break the law, deſerving rather reward than puniſhment for ſo doing:

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Who then can doubt that Government ſhould be ſo deficient, as to want a Power of preſerving it ſelf, which 'tis againſt nature for any private man to be without; and if this is requiſite in ſome caſes, who is ſo fit to judge of thoſe as the ſupreme Magiſtrate, entruſted with the whole executive power of a nation? For, to join aſſemblies with him in this, tho' I approve it in his legiſlative capacity, is the ſame as to exclude all power of diſpenſing in any caſe whatſoever; ſince it ſuppoſes only ſuch as cannot admit of due time for the ſlow deliberation of aſſemblies; or when thoſe aſſemblies are too much poſſeſs'd with paſſion or prejudice.

I agree, and am glad whenever I can do ſo, with his deſpiſing the aſſiſtance of a drunken club, tho' made ſo by no other health than the King's, and I think ſuch a mixture of affectation and diſorder deſerves rather a conſtable's ſtaff, for its diſperſing and puniſhment, than a blue ribband or a great title for its countenance. But I cannot think a Pulpit as inſignificant as a Tavern, unleſs I ſaw one of ſuch a club get into it; becauſe I know no reaſon ſo good for the appointing preachers once a week to entertain the people, as the teaching them morality,

lity, a principal part of which is obedience to magiſtrates.

AFTER this, our TRIMMER obſerves that 'tis a little partial to conſider *Catholicks* always as good ſubjects, and other diſſenters as bad ones; when we may remember each of them has had their turn of being ſometimes loyal, and ſometimes rebellious. Now I am afraid, our very TRIMMER himſelf is ſomething partial; for tho' I am far from believing *Papiſts*, or any ſort of people whatſoever, ſo perfect as to be incapable of ill deſigns; yet I muſt needs obſerve with all the world, that of late years, and within this nation (which ſure are the moſt conſiderable precedents to us) *Roman Catholicks* have been all moſt remarkably loyal; and I wiſh I could ſay as much for all other diſſenters. But there is little need of defending the *Catholicks* any longer againſt our TRIMMER, who has ſaid more for them, than ever they did for themſelves; in ſhewing us how plainly 'tis their intereſt, as much as any other mens whatſoever, to ſupport this Government and defend it from all uſurpations even of *Rome* it ſelf, if ever it ſhould attempt any; and I think when intereſt ties men to obedience, 'tis a very unrea-

reaſonable jealouſy to ſuſpect them. But I will now paſs with the TRIMMER to things abroad, and agree with him in thinking it a very melancholy proſpect.

I am ſenſible, even to an anxiety of mind, of our giving all the advantage imaginable to the enemies of the *Engliſh* nation abroad, by our perpetual diſagreement at home; and (according to the *Scotch* manner of proceeding againſt criminals) I conclude with him firſt as to the crime, which I think horrid beyond a name, and then afterwards examine calmly who is the unexcuſable criminal: In order to which inquiſition, I muſt truly and impartially ſtate the caſe. A King and Parliament are diſagreeing upon mutual jealouſies; the King apprehends any oppoſition to *France*, for fear the Parliament ſhould either not ſupply him ſufficiently to maintain it, or elſe take that advantage of exacting too much from the Crown. On the other ſide the Parliaments are hearty towards ſuch an oppoſition, becauſe 'tis the nation's intereſt, and are ſufficiently reſolved to maintain it; but at the ſame time are afraid of the King's employing their ſupplies another way. Now as I cannot deny but 'tis the *French* King's intereſt to tempt Him any way, if it were poſſible,

poſſible, and to increaſe his ſuſpicion of Parliaments; ſo the TRIMMER alſo muſt needs own, that the ſame foreign Power is as buſy in the Houſe of Commons, to widen the breach on that ſide too: and thus is a mighty Monarch with both hands tearing us ſilently in pieces, and widening thoſe very wounds, which we have firſt given our ſelves. But is it fair? is it juſt? is it impartial (as a TRIMMER pretends to be) to impute all theſe inconveniences to the Court alone, who are no more capable of helping it, without a Parliament's compliance; than the Parliament is, without the King's condeſcenſion in maintaining the *Engliſh* intereſt againſt the *French*, at their ſo earneſt deſires? But ſince things muſt needs continue thus, 'till one ſide a little ſubmits, is it hard to determine which ſhould firſt yield; the Children, or the Father? the Subjects, or the Sovereign? the Parliament, or the King?

I hope our TRIMMER's veneration for his country is no idolatry, for I cannot hold from kneeling down by him, and kiſſing our mother Earth with all the tenderneſs imaginable, for which I have a good ſubſtantial reaſon, as plain as the Clown who taught

taught it me; and that is, becauſe I have my livelihood here, and theſe foreign treſpaſſers would be apt to take it from me; ſo that I too, without pretending to be a Hero, would rather die generouſly in defence of my Country, than ſtarve infamouſly after the loſs of it. Therefore, whenever the TRIMMER can perſuade the Parliament to give money enough for a Fleet againſt *France*, the TORY will engage to go a voluntier in it, rather than command the *Kitchin Yatcht* to any grand LOUIS of them all: ſo I hope we are agreed as to that point. But whereas our TRIMMER inſinuates a little artificially, that our ſettlement at home is ſlighted only in order to aſſiſt the *French* deſigns abroad; I muſt confeſs that our diviſions on this ſide of the ſea, contribute ſufficiently to thoſe on the other; but who can help it? 'Tis certain, theſe two misfortunes go together; and *England* cannot be embroil'd, without *Flanders* being almoſt conquered; but is this diviſion here the effect, or rather the cauſe of that Monarch's ambition? To ſay 'tis the effect, is ſo ſharp a cenſure on our nation, that I dare not be ſo bold as our TRIMMER is, only to hint at it; and my blood riſes at the very thought: But this I dare

dare ſay, becauſe 'tis manifeſt, that if the ambition of *France* has cauſed our diſorders; a Kingdom cannot be ſo betrayed, unleſs its King be ſo too. Which of his ſubjects ought moſt to be ſuſpected in ſuch a caſe, I will not determine; but whoever they are, may they be thrown out, like JONAS, to allay the ſtorm, and be forced to ſeek a ſhelter with that great Leviathan. The TORY is content, nay deſirous to ſearch every corner, even of the Court it ſelf, where ſure he cannot long be hid, becauſe the Prince is a thouſand times more concern'd to find him out, than any of his moſt ſuſpicious ſubjects can be: but pray let us have fair play to ſearch other places too, and not believe this *French* Monarch ſo extravagantly aſpiring, as to ſcorn the bribing any body below a Miniſter of State; he is very well bred; and we know his condeſcenſion ſuch, that the meaneſt member of the *Houſe of Commons* need not deſpair of being acceptable in his ſight.

THE concluſion of our TRIMMER's diſcourſe is very properly called ſo, becauſe it ſeems impoſſible to carry a fallacy further, or diſguiſe it better; and therefore I hope it will not put him out of his ſo much boaſted

ed moderation, if I ſtrip it of all thoſe artificial colours, and expoſe it to the World in its miſhapen nakedneſs: Then we ſhall quickly ſee the difference between the homelineſs of Error, and that amiable Truth ſo much celebrated by our TRIMMER, who alas miſtakes deformity for her, and ſeems in his rapture as extravagantly doting as the humorous Lieutenant, when he took his old King for a plump girl of fifteen.

WHAT do men ail, cries our TRIMMER, thus to rail at moderation, and to ſay TRIMMERS are even worſe than rebels? It looks, ſays he, as if they were aiming at ſome violent extream, incompatible with all diſcretion and moderation. This now has an appearance of reaſon, and ſeems fair at a diſtance; but, well conſider'd, is but a cloud of fallacy, without any ſubſtantial force of argument. Suppoſe a father or maſter finds himſelf oppreſs'd by any ſort of ill uſage, and accordingly implores the help of his children or ſervants, who yet all the while ſtand careleſs by with a moſt provoking indifference, rather ſeeming to inſult over his need of their aſſiſtance, than eager to relieve him by it: They, ſtill unconcerned, behold their parent or maſter ſtruggling with his adver-

ſaries, and extreamly ſuffering either by ſuits of Law or perſonal Violence, or by any other way you can ſuppoſe a man abuſed: The good man himſelf, nay, all the world, accuſes theſe luke-warm friends, thoſe infamous ſervants, theſe unnatural children, of being ſo ſhamefully unconcerned in all theſe quarrels. May not they as well anſwer for themſelves, what does this man ail? What does the world mean to find fault with our moderation, is it not a vertue? is it not a ſign of ſenſe as well as juſtice to be ever impartial? Let us leave this parent, this maſter to his own ſtrength, and let that help him out of all his troubles: why ſhould we take part on either ſide? O but then the good man is enraged more againſt them than all his enemies. And can we blame him? what can they ſay for themſelves? Why only this; Is he driving, ſay they, at any ſtrange extream? does he deſign to beggar all his neighbours, to aſſault his acquaintance, to abuſe all the world, that he expects we ſhould aſſiſt him on all occaſions?

Now let any man judge if this be a laudable moderation in theſe cold friends? A bleſſed ſerene temper above the clouds of paſſion and partiality? Or rather, an unworthy

worthy and unnatural coldneſs, for thoſe whom they ought to be inclined to believe in the right, and to protect, tho' never ſo much in the wrong? Suppoſe the quarrel began on our parents ſide; ſuppoſe he was contentious; (which is laying the objection as hard as can be) yet are we at liberty either to help or hurt him, as our fancy leads us? Are we not tied to his aſſiſtance more firmly than ſoldiers are to their General by a little pay; and not to examine the cauſe ſo much as the kindred; ſince our reaſon and our reverence ought to conclude the beſt of ſuch things which we cannot be able to judge of, ſo well, as he whom God and Nature have ſet over us?

ANOTHER Fallacy is endeavoured to be put on us, by ſhewing the great limitation a King lies under, and the extraordinary leſſening of his authority, when once it engages for one party of his people, towards the deſtruction of another; which our TRIMMER calls, ſhrinking from a great Monarch, into the Head of a Faction; and therefore he is extreamly troubled for ſuch a diminution of his Prince's power. Now I confeſs, this appears to me juſt as if a highway-man, overtaken by a hue and cry, ſhould ſtand

at bay, and thus pretend to wheedle the purſuing conſtable. What! will you, reverend Magiſtrates! (for 'tis time to give good words) who are entruſted by the nation with the publick peace and tranquillity, and therefore not only ſtrengthened with ample power, but adorned with awful ſtaffs of authority: What! will you be thus partial to theſe witneſſes, to theſe ſhabby fellows who pretend to be robbed, as to fall on us who never ſaw your faces before? This is making your ſelves the Heads of a purſuing rabble, who one day perhaps may be indited of a riot for ſo abuſing us------I need not apply the compariſon, becauſe the thing ſpeaks it ſelf. And whereas our TRIMMER blames people for ſo monopolizing a Prince's favour, that a poor TRIMMER can get none of it; I confeſs 'tis true, but methinks not very ſtrange. I allow his Simile to hold good, that not only theſe Stateſmen, but any other men in the world, even TRIMMERS themſelves, would engroſs the very ſunſhine, with the hazard of being burnt, in caſe there were not enough of it for every body? And, for my part, tho' 'tis a great fault in mankind, I cannot but charitably forgive it; becauſe I am one of that race

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my ſelf; and bad is the beſt of us all, WHIG, TORY, and TRIMMER.

BUT here he adviſes us extreamly well, not to oppreſs the people, which, tho' a dull heavy beaſt, may yet at laſt be enraged with ſuch burning cupping-glaſſes. In return to his kindneſs I will put him alſo in mind, that 'tis every whit as dangerous to wake a ſleeping Lion; it being a great deal better to feed quietly by him than inſolently tread on him, or ſo much as ſeem to ſlight him: For, tho' 'tis eaſier for himſelf as well as others to lock up his claws, and lie in quiet; yet if too much diſturbed, perhaps he may grow peeviſh, and think it better once for all to rouze up his anger to purpoſe, than to be fretted and provoked perpetually.

AND now, becauſe the very name of a TORY has been given to intimate a mixture of ignorance and barbarity; it will not be unneceſſary to give a ſhort account of his opinions, that are ſuppoſed to be ſuch terrible bugbears; though indeed they can frighten none but very children in politicks. Firſt, As to Religion, he does not believe it a meer engine of Government, invented only by the fear of fools, and improved ſince by

the wiſdom of Magiſtrates; but yet he thinks it not below the divineſt Laws, to ſecond or rather ſanctify thoſe made by our ſuperiors; and he can never imagine any Religion likely to bring us to heaven, which hinders us from living peaceably and contentedly on earth. So that if principles of obedience to government be not the ſure mark of a good religion (becauſe then MAHOMET's might paſs as well as another) yet any that makes a diſturbance is to be counted a bad one, and not fit to be ſuffered in a community of reaſonable creatures.

AND though he is thought ſuch a Bigot of Monarchy, 'tis only where its long ſettlement among us gives it a juſt title to our defence, and veneration: But all this while he thinks a ſubject of *Venice* would be as guilty in ſhaking that auguſt fabrick of Ariſtocracy, as any of our Innovators can be here; becauſe the reaſon is the ſame, and the general quiet as much diſturbed. He thinks obedience to Kings, as to Parents, a moral, nay, a divine law; and that we are tied to obſerve it as much by our intereſt, as our duty; and that in this, as in all other actions of morality, the publick convenience, in which our own is comprehended, ought

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to be thought the baſis of the ſtricteſt obligation. Let not therefore any body imagine the TORY ſo partial or ſo blind, as not to ſee faults in his ſuperiors, becauſe he only ſighs in ſilence, and is rather aſhamed than angry at it. For he thinks that taking publick notice of it is as ill-bred and unwiſe, as a man's telling his own wife of her being painted in the Drawing-room; which is not ſo likely to perſuade her out of that fault, as to provoke her into another of a more dangerous nature. Nay, the TORY thinks ſometimes the Prerogative it ſelf too much exalted, and is afraid of its breaking with being ſtretch'd too high, as inſtruments are in danger under unskilful hands. But even in ſuch a caſe, when Liberty is like the keeper's daughter at the *Tower*, fallen under the Lion's paw; 'tis prudence to have patience, and nothing can ſo endanger her as to attempt her reſcue. No doubt but there are evils in all governments; but the leſſer ones of being unwiſely governed, are a thouſand times to be preferred to thoſe of Anarchy and a Civil War. Then as to foreign affairs, the TORY is as zealous as any body for the honour of his nation; and thinks the quiet of it, eſpecially for the fu-

ture, depends on our maintaining that honour generouſly, tho' with a little ſeeming inconvenience. But as the TORY would be loth to ſee his Prince engaged in amity with any enemies to his country, ſince then they muſt be his too, whatever they may pretend to the contrary: ſo he would not have a Parliament ſo poſitive, though never ſo much in the right, as to grow impoſers inſtead of counſellors. A King ought to be perſuaded ſometimes, but never violently preſs'd to any thing; for, beſides that 'tis the way to give a diſguſt to the beſt diet, if it be cramm'd down with violence; by ſuch an importunity, the grace of willingneſs is loſt, which is the very life and ſoul of all compliances: and the Nation will rather deſpiſe, than applaud a Prince, who only yields to their deſires out of too much eaſineſs of nature. Yet after all, perhaps the honeſt TORY is more concern'd than any, to have his Prince always underſtand his intereſt aright; when others are glad (it may be) of his miſtakes, that turn ſo much to his diſadvantage.

AND now to ſhake hands, and be friends, after all our diſputes; I join heartily with our TRIMMER in adoring Truth, wherever I find her; who, I am confident, has been

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our common miſtreſs all this while, and may her favour only decide the quarrel: If ſhe were to be flattered into kindneſs, I muſt certainly ſubmit to my rival, who ſays the fineſt things of her in the world; but ſhe is too plain her ſelf, to be delighted with compliments; and one fair argument will gain her better than a thouſand flouriſhes. Therefore tho' I might entertain my ſelf with as many reflections as he does; That our Climate is a TRIMMER as to its air, perpetually cloudy, low'ring, and uncertain; That our Church too, with reverence be it ſpoken, is in this a TRIMMER, wanting enthuſiaſm on one hand, which is the only pretence for ſeparation, and yet without any ſuch authority on the other, whereby to blind men to obey her; That our Laws alſo are errant TRIMMERS, ſparing no body that ſtands in their way, let them be of what principle they pleaſe. But here I am quite out of breath, and can go no further with our TRIMMER, ſince nothing leſs than Vertue and the Divinity it ſelf will ſerve him to be made TRIMMERS; and that provokes me almoſt to make them TORIES, to be revenged on him: but I adore them too much for ſuch a profanation, and am too much

much ſcandalized with the freedom he has already taken, to follow ſo unjuſtifiable an example,

I ſhall conclude with this, That what the TRIMMER only in words pretends to do, and fails of in effect, the TORY uſes the right means for, and ſo accompliſhes. For firſt, the TRIMMER complains of WHIGS weighing down the boat on one ſide, while he is wiſhing it ſhould go more ſteddy; but yet without uſing the leaſt means towards it, he ſits ſtill at the bottom of the veſſel, and only quarrels with every body in it: Now what poſſible way is there in nature to ſet all right again, but by counterpoiſing that weight of WHIGS with as great an one of TORIES on the other ſide? This is all we aim at; that the Government at laſt may be well eſtabliſhed, and every thing go ſo even, that nothing hereafter may endanger it.

WHEN TRIMMERS ſhall once ſee us in that condition, I am apt to think them ſo wiſe as to grow TORIES immediately; not doubting but they will join then, as heartily as any of us all, in the preſervation of that happy ſettlement; towards which I hope we are drawing nearer every day, and in which I pray we may reſt for ever.

A

A

CHARACTER

OF

CHARLES II.

King of *ENGLAND.*

A CHARACTER OF CHARLES II.

I HAVE pitch'd on this Character of CHARLES II. not for his being a King, or my having had the honour to ſerve him: The firſt of theſe would be too vulgar a conſideration, and the other too particular. But I think it a Theme of great variety, and whatever is wanting in the writer, may, I hope, be recompenſed in the agreeableneſs of the ſubject; which is ſometimes enough to recommend a picture though ill-drawn, and to make a face one likes, oftner look'd on, than the beſt piece of RAPHAEL.

TO begin then according to cuſtom with his *Religion*, which ſince his death hath made ſo much noiſe in the world; I yet dare confidently affirm it to be only that which is vulgarly (tho' unjuſtly) counted none

none at all, I mean *Deiſm*. And this uncommon opinion he owed more to the liveline ſs of his parts, and careleſſneſs of his temper, than either to reading or much conſideration; for, his quickneſs of apprehenſion at firſt view could diſcern thro' the ſeveral cheats of pious pretences; and his natural lazineſs confirm'd him in an equal miſtruſt of them all, for fear he ſhould be troubled with examining which Religion was beſt.

If in his early travels, and late adminiſtration, he ſeem'd a little biaſs'd to one ſort of Religion; the firſt is only to be imputed to a certain eaſineſs of temper, and a complaiſance for that company he was then forced to keep: and the laſt was no more than his being tired (which he ſoon was in any difficulty) with thoſe bold oppoſitions in Parliament; which made him almoſt throw himſelf into the arms of a *Roman Catholick* party, ſo remarkable in *England* for their loyalty, who embraced him gladly, and lull'd him aſleep with thoſe enchanting ſongs of abſolute ſovereignty, which the beſt and wiſeſt of Princes are often unable to reſiſt.

And tho' he engaged himſelf on that ſide more fully at a time, when 'tis in vain, and

and too late to diſſemble; we ought leſs to wonder at it, than to conſider that our very judgments are apt to grow in time as partial as our affections: And thus by accident only, he became of their opinion in his weakneſs, who had ſo much endeavoured always to contribute to his power.

He loved eaſe and quiet, to which his unneceſſary wars are ſo far from being a contradiction, that they are rather a proof of it; ſince they were made chiefly to comply with thoſe perſons, whoſe diſſatisfaction would have proved more uneaſy to one of his humour, than all that diſtant noiſe of cannon, which he would often liſten to with a great deal of tranquillity. Beſides, the great and almoſt only pleaſure of mind he appeared addicted to, was ſhipping and ſea-affairs; which ſeemed to be ſo much his talent both for knowledge, as well as inclination, that a war of that kind was rather an entertainment, than any diſturbance to his thoughts.

If he did not go himſelf at the head of ſo magnificent a fleet, 'tis only to be imputed to that eagerneſs of military glory in his Brother; who, under the ſhew of a decent care for preſerving the Royal Perſon

from danger, ingroſs'd all that ſort of honour to himſelf; with as much jealouſy of any other's interpoſing in it, as a King of another temper would have had of his, tho' without reaſon; for, never Heir behaved himſelf more ſubmiſſively than the Duke of YORK, to the laſt minute of his life. 'Tis certain, no Prince was ever more fitted by nature for his country's intereſt than he was, in all his maritime inclinations; which might have proved of ſufficient advantage to this nation, if he had been as careful in depreſſing all ſuch improvements in *France*, as of advancing and encouraging our own. But it ſeems he wanted jealouſy in all his inclinations, which leads us to conſider him in his pleaſures.

WHERE he was rather abandoned than luxurious, and like our female Libertines, apter to be debauch'd for the ſatisfaction of others, than to ſeek with choice where moſt to pleaſe himſelf. I am of opinion alſo, that in his latter times there was as much of lazineſs, as of love, in all thoſe hours he paſſed among his miſtreſſes; who, after all, ſerved only to fill up his *Seraglio*; while a bewitching kind of pleaſure called Sauntring, and talking without any conſtraint, was the true *Sultana Queen* he delighted in. HE

HE was ſurely inclined to Juſtice, for nothing elſe would have retained him ſo faſt to the ſucceſſion of a Brother, againſt a Son he was ſo fond of, and the humour of a party he ſo much fear'd. I am willing alſo to impute to his juſtice, whatever ſeems in ſome meaſure to contradict the general opinion of his clemency; as his ſuffering always the rigour of the Law to proceed not only againſt all highway-men, but alſo ſeveral others; in whoſe caſes the Lawyers (according to their wonted cuſtom) had uſed ſometimes a great deal of hardſhip and ſeverity.

HIS Underſtanding was quick and lively in little things, and ſometimes would ſoar high enough in great ones; but unable to keep it up, with any long attention or application. Witty in all ſorts of converſation, and telling a ſtory ſo well, that not out of flattery, but for the pleaſure of hearing it, we uſed to ſeem ignorant of what he had repeated to us ten times before, as a good comedy will bear the being ſeen often.

OF a wonderful mixture; loſing all his time, and till of late, ſetting his whole heart on the Fair Sex; yet neither angry with rivals, nor in the leaſt nice as to the being

beloved: and while he ſacrificed all things to his miſtreſſes, he would uſe to grudge, and be uneaſy at their loſing a little of it again at play, tho' never ſo neceſſary for their diverſion: Nor would he venture five pounds at Tennis to thoſe ſervants, who might obtain as many thouſands, either before he came thither, or as ſoon as he left off.

NOT falſe to his word, but full of diſſimulation, and very *adroit* at it; yet no man eaſier to be impoſed on: for his great dexterity was in cozening himſelf, by gaining a little one way, while it coſt him ten times as much another; and by careſſing thoſe perſons moſt, who had deluded him the oft'neſt, and yet the quickeſt in the world at 'ſpying ſuch a ridicule in another.

FAMILIAR, eaſy, and good-natur'd; but for great offences ſevere, and inflexible; alſo in one week's abſence, quite forgetting thoſe ſervants, to whoſe faces he could hardly deny any thing.

IN the midſt of all his remiſſneſs, ſo induſtrious and indefatigable on ſome particular occaſions, that no man would either toil longer, or be able to manage it better.

HE was ſo liberal, as to ruin his affairs by it; for Want in a King of *England*, turns

turns things juſt upſide down, and expoſes a Prince to his people's mercy. It did yet worſe in him, for it forc'd him alſo to depend on his great neighbour of *France*, who play'd the Brother with him ſufficiently, in all thoſe times of extremity; yet this profuſeneſs of his did not ſo much proceed from his over-valuing thoſe he favoured, as from his under-valuing any ſums of money which he did not ſee; tho' he found his error in this, but I confeſs a little of the lateſt.

He had ſo natural an averſion to all formality, that with as much wit as moſt Kings ever had, and with as majeſtick a mien, yet he could not on premeditation act the part of a King for a moment, either at Parliament or Council, either in words or geſture; which carried him into the other extreme, more inconvenient of the two, of letting all diſtinction and ceremony fall to the ground as uſeleſs and foppiſh.

His temper both of Body and Mind was admirable; which made him an eaſy generous Lover, a civil obliging Husband, a friendly Brother, an indulgent Father, and a good-natur'd Maſter. If he had been as ſollicitous about improving the faculties of his mind, as he was in the management of his bodily

health, tho' alas the one prov'd unable to make his life long, the other had not failed to have made it famous.

He was an illuſtrious exception to all the common rules of Phyſiognomy; for, with a moſt ſaturnine harſh ſort of countenance, he was both of a merry and merciful diſpoſition; and in the laſt thirty years of his life, as fortunate, as thoſe of his father had been diſmal and tumultuous. If his death has been by ſome ſuſpected of being untimely, it may be imputed to his extreme healthy conſtitution; which made the world as much ſurpriz'd at his dying before threeſcore, as if nothing but an ill accident could have killed him.

I would not ſay any thing on ſo ſad a ſubject, if I did not think ſilence it ſelf would in ſuch a caſe ſignify too much; and therefore, as an impartial writer, I am oblig'd to obſerve that the moſt knowing and moſt deſerving of all his phyſicians did not only believe him poiſoned, but thought himſelf ſo too not long after, for having declared his opinion a little too boldly.

But here I muſt needs take notice of an unuſual piece of Juſtice, which yet all the world has almoſt unanimouſly agreed in;

I mean, in not ſuſpecting his Succeſſor of the leaſt connivance in ſo horrid a Villany; and perhaps there was never a more remarkable inſtance of the wonderful power of Truth and Innocence. For 'tis next to a miracle, that ſo unfortunate a Prince, in the midſt of all thoſe diſadvantages he lies under, ſhould be yet clear'd of this even by his greateſt enemies; notwithſtanding all thoſe circumſtances that uſe to give a ſuſpicion, and that extreme malice which has of late attended him in all his other actions.

A

CHARACTER

OF THE

Earl of *Arlington.*

HENRY BENNET, a younger ſon of a private gentleman, had followed the Royal Family into exile; at whoſe reſtoration he was made firſt Privy-Purſe, then Secretary of State, Earl of ARLINGTON,

LINGTON, Knight of the Garter, and at laſt Lord Chamberlain to King CHARLES the Second, and to his Brother King JAMES the Second afterwards. He was for ſome years a kind of favourite Miniſter, I mean converſant in his Maſter's pleaſures, as well as intruſted with his buſineſs; notwithſtanding the conſtant enmity both of the Duke of YORK, and Chancellor CLARENDON, whoſe ſuperior Power, eſpecially in ſtate-affairs, was yet unable to ſhake King CHARLES's inclination to this gentleman; who therefore, at the other's baniſhment, remained if not ſole miniſter, at leaſt the principal one for ſome time. He met with one thing very peculiar in his fortune, which I have ſcarce known happen to any man elſe: with all his advancement (which is wont to create malice, but ſeldom contempt) he was believed in *England* by moſt people, a man of much leſs abilities than he really had. For this unuſual ſort of miſtake I can only imagine two cauſes: Firſt, his over-cautious avoiding to ſpeak in Parliament, as having been more converſant in affairs abroad; tho' no body performed it better

when oblig'd to give account of ſome Treaties to the *Houſe of Lords*, or to defend himſelf in the *Houſe of Commons*; by which laſt he once brought himſelf off with great dexterity. The other reaſon of it I fancy to have come from the Duke of BUCKINGHAM, who being his rival in Court after the fall of CLARENDON, and having an extraordinary talent of turning any thing into ridicule, exerciſed it ſufficiently on this Lord, both with the King and every body elſe: which had its effect at laſt even to his being left out of his Maſter's buſineſs, but not his favour; which in ſome meaſure continued ſtill, and long after this his ſupplanter was totally diſcarded.

HAVING been educated in order to be a Divine, he was a better ſcholar than commonly Courtiers are; and ſo well verſed in the *Claſſick Poets*, that I never knew any man apply them ſo properly on any ſubject whatſoever, and without any pedantic affectation. Yet he could never ſhake off a little air of formality, that an Embaſſy into *Spain* had infected him with; but it only hung about his mien, without the leaſt tincture of it either in his words or behaviour.

He

He once had the honour to procure a *Triple League* of great advantage to the defence of *Europe* againſt *France:* But he being one of thoſe who for ſeveral years afterwards aſſiſted in carrying on a quite contrary intereſt, it too plainly ſhews that, tho' none in this whole Reign knew foreign affairs ſo well, yet after all he was rather a ſubtle Courtier, than an able Stateſman; too much regarding every inclination of his Maſter, and too little conſidering his true intereſt and that of the nation. To end handſomely with him, he was of a generous temper; not only living ſplendidly, but obliging his friends willingly and warmly: On which occaſion I remember that, viſiting him one day, when newly a friend of his had turn'd ungratefully againſt him, he ask'd me what effect I thought it would have upon him? I thinking he meant as to his fortune, was about to anſwer gravely; when he ſmilingly proteſted it ſhould neither cool him in his preſent friendſhips, nor hinder his aſſiſting the next deſerving perſon who came in his way; becauſe that was the greateſt ſatisfaction of his life, and he would not part with it upon any diſcouragement whatſoever.

The truth of this he told me I ſhould always find, and indeed I did ſo to the very end of his life; which therefore required this ſmall piece of gratitude.

A

LETTER

TO

Doctor *Tillotſon*,

Then DEAN, afterwards

ARCHBISHOP of *Canterbury*.

Written and Printed juſt after the Revolution.

SIR,

NOTHING in this world is, or ought to be ſo dear to any man of honour, as his reputation; and conſequently the defence of it is the greateſt obligation that one man can lay on another. There are alſo ſome circumſtances that render this obligation yet more acceptable and valuable; as when 'tis confer'd generouſly, without any ſelf-intereſt, or the leaſt deſire or invitation from the perſon ſo defended. All this happens to be my caſe

at

at this time; and therefore I hope you will not be ſurpriz'd to find I am not the moſt ungrateful and inſenſible man living; which certainly I ſhould be, if I did not acknowledge all your induſtrious concern for me about the buſineſs of the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion, which now makes ſo much noiſe in the world. You have (as I am told) ſo cordially pleaded my cauſe, that 'tis almoſt become your own; and therefore (as unwilling as I am to ſpeak of my ſelf, eſpecially in a buſineſs which I cannot wholly excuſe) yet I think my ſelf now a little oblig'd to ſhew, that my part in this matter, though imprudent enough, yet is not altogether unworthy of ſo juſt and conſiderable an advocate.

THE leſs a man ſays for himſelf, the better; and 'tis ſo well underſtood already with what great care I was ſometimes excluded from knowing the moſt important deſigns of the Court, that I need not juſtify my ſelf, or trouble you as to thoſe matters: Only I appeal to the unqueſtionable teſtimony of the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, if I did not zealouſly and conſtantly take all occaſions to oppoſe the *French* intereſt; becauſe I knew it directly oppoſite both to the King and King-

Kingdom's good; which are indeed things inſeparable, and ought to be ſo accounted, as a fundamental maxim in all councils of Princes.

THIS I hope will prepare the way a little for what I have to ſay, concerning my being one of the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners, of which error I am now as ſenſible as I was at firſt ignorant; being ſo unhappily converſant in the midſt of a perpetual Court-flattery, as never to have heard the leaſt word of any illegality in that commiſſion, before I was unfortunately engaged in it.

FOR though my Lord of CANTERBURY had very prudently refuſed to be of it; yet it was told us at Court, and by the King himſelf, that his refuſal proceeded only from his unwillingneſs to act at that time, and not from any illegality he ſuſpected in the commiſſion: having excus'd himſelf from it the moſt reſpectful way, only upon the account of his age, and the infirmities he lay under. Being thus ignorant of the Laws, and in ſuch a ſtation at Court and Council, I need not deſire a man of your judgment and candour to conſider the hardneſs of my caſe, when I was commanded to ſerve in a commiſſion with a Lord Chancellor, a Lord

Lord Chief Juſtice, and two Biſhops: who had all of them acted ſome time already without ſhewing the leaſt diffidence of their power, or any heſitation in the execution of it. And perhaps a man of more diſcretion than I can pretend to, might have been eaſily perſuaded to act in ſuch a conjunction, and to think he might do it ſafely, both in Law and Conſcience. But I need not ſay much to ſhew my deſire of avoiding, if poſſible, a troubleſome commiſſion, that had not the leaſt temptation of honour or profit to recommend it; and in which therefore you know I continued on no account in the world, but to ſerve both the King and Clergy with the little ability I had, in moderating thoſe councils, which we thought might grow higher, if I left my places to be filled by thoſe who greedily waited for them, in order to their fooliſh deſigns.

And ſince I have been forced to mention my good will at leaſt, if not my ſervice, to ſuch learned men of the clergy, who I thought deſerved it; it may be allowed me to give this one Inſtance of it: That, although in preferring men to all other places of the houſehold, I ever uſed to ask permiſſion firſt, (and accordingly was often re-

refuſed for the ſake of *Roman Catholicks*, and others who were recommended by perſons more in favour than my ſelf) yet I was ſo careful of keeping that conſiderable part of the family unmix'd with mean or unworthy Chaplains (whom others I fear'd would have impos'd on his Majeſty, againſt his intention) that I conſtantly fill'd up thoſe vacancies, without giving him the leaſt notice or trouble about it; and ſupply'd them with the ableſt approved Divines I could poſſibly find, moſt commonly recommended to me by thoſe Biſhops who were not of the Court. This I conceived the moſt proper courſe in a matter concerning Clergymen, with a King of a different perſuaſion from theirs; and I intended it for his real ſervice; believing it had been better for that unhappy Prince, as well as the Kingdom, if the greater Eccleſiaſtical Dignities had been diſpos'd of by others with as much caution.

AND thus, *Sir*, I have endeavour'd to confirm you in your favourable opinion of me; which muſt be acknowledg'd by every body an approbation of ſuch weight, that as I hope it may be an example of great

authority to many, ſo 'tis ſufficient of it ſelf to balance the cenſoriouſneſs of others. *I am,*

SIR,

Your obliged humble Servant,

MULGRAVE.

THE

Earl of *Mulgrave's*

SPEECH

In the HOUSE of LORDS,

FOR THE

Bill touching Free and Impartial Proceedings in Parliament.

THIS debate is of ſo great conſequence, that I reſolved to be ſilent, and rather to be adviſed by the ability of others, than to ſhew my own want of it; beſides, it is of ſo nice a nature, that I who ſpeak always unpremeditately, apprehend extremely the ſaying any thing which may be thought the leaſt reflecting: though even that ought not to reſtrain a man here from doing his duty to the publick, in a buſineſs where it ſeems to be ſo highly concern'd.

I have always heard, I have always read, that foreign nations, and all this part of the world, have admir'd and envy'd the conſtitution of this Government. For not to ſpeak of the King's power, here is a Houſe of Lords to adviſe him on all important occaſions, about peace or war; about all things that may concern the nation, the care of which is very much entruſted to your Lordſhips. But yet becauſe your Lordſhips cannot be ſo converſant with the generality of the people, nor ſo conſtantly in the country as is neceſſary for that purpoſe, here is a Houſe of Commons alſo choſen by the very people themſelves, newly come from among them, or ſhould be ſo, to repreſent boldly all their grievances, to expreſs the true mind of the nation, and to diſpoſe of their money, at leaſt ſo far as to begin all bills of that nature; and if I am not miſtaken, the very writ for elections ſent down to the Sheriffs, does impower them to chuſe. What? Their Repreſentatives. Now, my Lords, I beſeech you to conſider the meaning of the word *Repreſentative*: Is it to do any thing contrary to their mind? It would be abſurd to propoſe it; and yet how can it be otherwiſe, if they, after their being choſen, change their dependency, engage

gage themſelves in employments plainly inconſiſtent with that great truſt repoſed in them. And that I will take the liberty to demonſtrate to your Lordſhips they now do, at leaſt according to my humble opinion.

I will inſtance firſt in the leaſt and loweſt incapacity they muſt be under, who ſo take employments.

YOUR Lordſhips know but too well what a general careleſſneſs there appears every day more and more in the publick buſineſs: If ſo, how is it likely that men ſhould be as diligent in their duty in Parliament as that buſineſs requires, where employments, and a great deal of other buſineſs, ſhall take up both their minds and their time?

BUT then in ſome caſes 'tis worſe; as in Commands of the army, and other employments of that kind, when they muſt have a divided duty: For it does admirably become an officer to ſit voting away money in the Houſe of Commons, while his ſoldiers are perhaps taking it away at their quarters, for want of his preſence to reſtrain them, and of better diſcipline among them; nay, perhaps his troop or regiment may be in ſome action abroad, and he muſt either have the ſhame of being abſent from them

at ſuch a time, or from that Houſe, where he is entruſted with all our Liberties. To this I have heard but one objection by a noble Lord, That if this act ſhould paſs, the King is not allow'd to make a captain or a colonel, without diſabling him to ſit in Parliament, by ſuch a commiſſion.

TRULY, if a captain has only deſerv'd to be advanced for expoſing himſelf in Parliament, I think the nation would have no great loſs in the King's letting alone ſuch a preferment.

BUT, my Lords, there is another ſort of incapacity yet worſe than this; I mean that of Parliament-men's having ſuch places in the *Exchequer*, as the very profit of them depends on the money given to the King in Parliament. Would any of your Lordſhips ſend and entruſt a man to make a bargain for you, whoſe very intereſt ſhall be to make you give as much as he can poſſibly?

IT puts me in mind of a *Farce*, where an actor holds a dialogue with himſelf, ſpeaking firſt in one tone, and then anſwering himſelf in another.

REALLY, my Lords, this is no *Farce*; for it's no laughing-matter to undo a nation:

But

But 'tis altogether as unnatural for a member of Parliament to ask firſt in the King's name for ſuch a ſort of a ſupply, give an account from him how much is needful towards the paying ſuch an army, or ſuch a fleet, and then immediately give, by his ready vote, what he had before ask'd by his maſter's order. Beſides, my Lords, there is ſuch a neceſſity now for long Seſſions of Parliament, and the very privileges belonging to members are of ſo great extent; that it would be a little hard and unequal to other gentlemen, that they ſhould have all the Places too, as well was the Privileges.

ALL the objections that have been made, may be reduced to theſe:

FIRST 'tis told us, That 'tis a diſreſpect to the King, if his ſervants or officers be excluded.

TO this, I deſire it may be conſider'd, That 'tis in this caſe, as when a tenant ſends up any body to treat for him; would any of your Lordſhips think it a diſreſpect, nay would the King himſelf think it any, if the tenant would not wholly refer himſelf to one of your own ſervants, or the King's commiſſioners in the caſe of the crown? And if he chuſes rather ſome plain honeſt friend of his own, to ſupply his abſence here; will any

blame ſuch a proceeding, or think it unmannerly?

BESIDES, your Lordſhips know even this Act admits them to be choſen, notwithſtanding their employments; provided the Electors know it firſt, and are not deceived in their choice.

ALL we would prevent, is, that a good rich corporation ſhould not chuſe to entruſt with all their liberties, a plain honeſt country neighbour, and find him within ſix months changed into a preferred, cunning courtier; who ſhall tie them to their choice, though he is no more the ſame man than if he were turn'd *Papiſt*; which by the law, as it ſtands already, puts an incapacity upon him.

ANOTHER objection is, That this act may, by its conſequence, prolong this Parliament; which they allow would be a very great grievance; and yet ſuppoſe the King capable of putting it upon us: I have too much reſpect for him to admit of this; but I am glad however that 'tis objected by Privy-counſellors in favour; who conſequently, I hope, will never adviſe a thing, which they now exclaim againſt as ſo great a grievance.

BUT

BUT pray my Lords, what ſhould tempt the King to ſo ill a policy? Can he fear a freedom of choice in the people; to whoſe good-will he owes all that power, which theſe Lords ſuppoſe he may uſe to their prejudice?

THEREFORE give me leave to ſay, as I muſt not ſuſpect him of ſo ill a deſign as the perpetuating this Parliament, ſo he cannot, he ought not to ſuſpect a nation, ſo entirely (I was going to ſay ſo fondly) devoted to him.

MY Lords, no man is readier than my ſelf to allow that we owe the Crown all ſubmiſſion, as to the time of calling Parliaments according to law, and appointing alſo where they ſhall ſit. But with reverence be it ſpoken, the King owes the nation entire freedom, in chuſing their repreſentatives; and it is no leſs his duty, than his true intereſt, that ſuch a fair and juſt proceeding ſhould be uſed towards us.

CONSIDER, my Lords, of what mighty conſequence it may be, that ſo many votes ſhould be free, when upon one ſingle one may depend the whole ſecurity or loſs of this nation. By one ſingle vote a general

exciſe may be granted, and then we are all loſt. By one ſingle vote the Crown may be impower'd to name all the Commiſſioners for raiſing the taxes, and then ſurely we ſhould be in a fair way towards it.

NAY, whatever has happen'd may again be apprehended; and I hope thoſe reverend Prelates will reflect, that if they grow once obnoxious to a prevalent Party, one ſingle voice may be as dangerous to that bench, as a general diſſatisfaction among the People prov'd to be once in a late experiment; which I am far from ſaying by way of threatning, but by way of caution.

MY Lords, we may think, becauſe this concerns not the Houſe of Lords, that we need not be ſo over-careful of the matter; but there are Noblemen in *France*, at leaſt ſuch as were ſo before they were enſlav'd, who, that they might domineer over others, and ſerve a preſent turn perhaps, let all things alone ſo long, 'till the people were quite maſter'd, and the nobility themſelves too, to bear them company. So that I never met a *Frenchman*, even of the greateſt rank (and ſome had ten thouſand Piſtoles a year in employments) that did not envy us here for

our

our freedom from that ſlavery which they groan under: And this I have obſerv'd univerſally, except in Monſieur DE LOUVOIS, Monſieur COLBERT, or ſuch people; becauſe they were the Miniſters themſelves who occaſion'd theſe complaints, and thrived by the oppreſſion of others.

MY LORDS,

THIS country of ours is very apt to be provok'd; we have had a late experience: and though no wiſe man but would bear a great deal rather than make a buſtle; yet really the people are otherwiſe, and at any time change a preſent uneaſineſs for any other condition, tho' a worſe. We have known it ſo too often, and ſometimes repented it too late.

LET them not have this new provocation, in being debarred from a ſecurity in their *Repreſentatives*. For malicious people will not fail to infuſe into their minds, that all thoſe vaſt ſums which have been, and ſtill muſt be raiſed towards this war, are not diſpoſed away in ſo fair a manner as ought to be; and I am afraid they will ſay their money is not *given*, but *taken*.

I am ſure, whatever ſucceſs this Bill may have, there muſt needs come ſome good effect of it; for if it paſſes, it will give us *Security*; if it be obſtructed, it will give us *Warning*.

A

SPEECH

IN THE

HOUSE of PEERS,

April 18, 1695.

YOUR Lordſhips have ſhewn me ſo much juſtice, and indeed ſo much favour and patience, in your examination of this whole buſineſs at my humble requeſt; that I ſhould make an ill return, if I waſted your time unneceſſarily. And therefore I will not trouble you with obſervations on thoſe unuſual methods, odd aggravations, and inexcuſable delays, that ſome few perſons have openly practiſed in this debate. I will not, I need not inſiſt upon it; your Lordſhips have all taken notice of it ſufficiently; and the truth is, ſuch an over-eagerneſs in a very ſmall number againſt the opinion of the reſt, inſtead of hurting me, only expoſes themſelves. Yet I am ſorry for this odd manner of proceeding, notwith-

withſtanding all the advantage it has given me: becauſe it has alſo given occaſion for a malicious ſuſpicion in this cenſorious town, as if I had done theſe Lords ſome ſort of private injury; of which yet I am ſo innocent, that they will not add it to their other accuſations againſt me, I am confident.

NEITHER will I take up your Lordſhips time with recriminations; I confeſs it is hard to hold, when 'tis ſo eaſy to do it; the ſubject is ample enough, and your Lordſhips will not think it ſo unbecoming a gentleman to return an accuſation, as it was to be the firſt accuſer: but, tho' never ſo much tempted, I have too much reſpect for this great aſſembly to entertain you ſo ill.

THE only thing I ſhall trouble you with, is the defence of what a man cannot be too careful of, my honour; and accordingly ſhall tell your Lordſhips a true ſtory very plainly. If I ſhould fail in any thing, it wou'd be no wonder, ſince I have neither uſed counſel without doors, nor troubled you with any here; being of opinion any man is able to ſpeak truth without any aſſiſtance.

ABOUT four years ago I deſign'd to build a houſe, and therefore diſpos'd of that I lived in to the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador; inquir'd every where

where for ground; treated with Mr. NEAL for his beyond *Berkley*-houſe, and with many others alſo; but at laſt fixed on that ſpot of ground you have now heard ſo much of. Upon my propoſing it to thoſe concern'd, I found two difficulties; firſt, the title was ſo perplex'd, there was no buying without an Act of Parliament to clear it; the ſecond was, that the inheritance of this ground after ſeventy four years is in the City of *London*. I endeavour'd to overcome the firſt of theſe difficulties, by procuring an agreement among the proprietors in the preſent leaſe of ſeventy four years, in order to have an Act of Parliament; and for the other, I treated with the City, deſiring only four acres in all, for a houſe, a court before it, and a ſmall Garden behind it. I think the firſt time I propos'd it was here in the biſhops lobby to Sir——HUBLAND, Sir R. CLAYTON, and three more of the city all together, who then aſſur'd me the inheritance could not be parted with. Upon this I deſir'd a leaſe of one hundred and fifty years, which yet was refuſed; and after many months I obtained one of one hundred years only.

WHILE this was treating above a twelvemonth, one of the city officers brought me arti-

articles to ſign; of which one was, that the leaſe ſhould be void, unleſs I procur'd ſuch an Act of Parliament to paſs for ſettling all matters about it; wherein ſome clauſes of his penning might be inſerted for the City's advantage. This condition appear'd ſo unreaſonable to me, (who was only one of the many parties that were to conſent to ſuch a private Act, before ever the Parliament, I knew, would paſs it) that in a little heat I told this ſmall officer Mr. LANE (the worthy witneſs) that it muſt be his own propoſal, and too extravagant a one to come from the City, who had never asked ſuch a condition. Mr. LANE grew exceſſive angry, as the other perſon then preſent has ſworn; and very pertly told me he was not to be ruffled out of his care for the City by any ſubject whatſoever; and yet, to pacify the good man, who might by his place do ill offices by a miſrepreſentation, I agreed (not that an Act ſhould paſs, tho' a private one) but only that I would, as a party, give my conſent to it as ſoon as all the other proprietors did ſo too. But the true reaſon why I refuſed his propoſal, was not for the leaſt doubt I had of your Lordſhips paſſing the Bill (which now lies on the table ready drawn

drawn by Mr. FOULK's, who ſent it at my requeſt) but only becauſe in juſtice your Lordſhips require all parties agreement to any private Bill, which I fear'd ſo many of them would hardly be perſuaded to; and then my Grant from the City was to have been void, if I had ſign'd his fine propoſal.

TO make an end of a long ſtory, the City granted the Leaſe at laſt, and it lies alſo on your table, full of covenants ſo much to the City's advantage, and ſo little to mine, (there being ſome articles of charge to me beſides the rent) that I have ſold to the Lord JEFFREYES for one hundred guineas this great preſent of the City (of which ſome have made ſuch a noiſe) becauſe it is of no uſe to me without building my houſe; which deſign fails only for want of the mortgagee's being able to make a ſure title; and they are not enough agreed to get an Act to paſs about it. Upon this I will make a few remarks, and ſo conclude. Firſt,

THE value of this is, you ſee, ſo very inconſiderable, that it alone anſwers all ſuſpicion about it: For tho' a bribe of a meer bawble is inexcuſable; yet when circumſtances are examined in order to judge if it be a bribe, or not, I ſuppoſe a plain gold ring

is not to be ſuſpected as much as a diamond of one thouſand pounds.

THE next objection vaniſhes about my undertaking for this Act, when it is conſidered how many inſtances there are every day of members in both houſes who article, not only as I have done, to endeavour at, but alſo to procure a private Act of Parliament; becauſe indeed they can be underſtood to mean no more by it, than to conſent themſelves, to perſuade others what they can, and ſometimes to pay the fees of the clerks, which in this very Leaſe I am oblig'd to free the city from, whenever the Act paſſes.

THE length of the Leaſe is as odd a cavil as the reſt; ſince one hundred years is certainly as proportionable a term for ſuch a great houſe, as forty years for a little one, eſpecially conſidering how ſlightly they build thoſe little ones now-a-days.

WHEREAS there was ſome mention of my obliging the city about GULSTON's Bill; I confeſs my memory did not lay that value upon it, as it ſeems their gratitude did, who own'd the obligation. It appears to have been a private bill which invaded the City of *London*'s rights, againſt which I deli-

deliver'd their petition, and made the matter ſo plain, that your Lordſhips threw out the Bill.

IT happen'd very lately, that an honeſt country gentleman heard only by accident, of an Act's being like to paſs, which had undone him. I fancy if any Lord had ſtopp'd it, either out of good will to him, or juſtice; the gentleman would call that Lord his friend ever after, and drink his health too, in ſpite of all his enemies.

CONSIDER alſo the open manner of this whole proceeding with a great City, for at leaſt a year together without interruption.

EACH clauſe ſtood upon with all ſtrictneſs, and every article diſputed by counſel before them.

BEFORE a committee of twelve common-council men, and ſix aldermen deputed to manage ſuch things.

CARRIED at laſt there (I deſire your Lordſhips will take notice of that remark, becauſe of a great eſtate loſt here lately by equal votes) not by an Equality; if ſo, I ſhould not wonder at a review taken of it; for things carried in that kind, will be talk'd of, and perhaps once more conſidered. But

this was done, my Lords, by a great majority; it was ſworn here at your Bar that there were but three againſt it, and they too own'd to your Lordſhips themſelves, it was only becauſe they thought the ground worth ten pounds a year more; which being after ſeventy years to come, is to be valued at a year's purchaſe; ſo I have a notable bargain of ten pounds, according even to their oaths, who croſſed me in it, becauſe indeed influenced by that City-officer.

OBSERVE alſo, if you pleaſe my Lords, the City ſent their officers ſeveral times to view this ground, by which one of my oppoſers own'd here he was at laſt convinc'd, that it was a good bargain for the City, upon account of their pipes and building.

AND now, my Lords, I have reſerv'd to the laſt, what alone would vindicate this buſineſs. This very ground is in truſtees names for the City, one of whom is an infant; ſo, they could make me no legal title before he comes to age, and I have only an equitable one to depend on. Therefore when this is to be confirmed and made valid, the city muſt be under other governors, who will never ſure confirm an ill thing done by theſe: and they cannot be compelled to it, but in the

the court of *Chancery*; which muſt then review all this whole proceeding.

As to the Convex-Lights, your Lordſhips have ſeen I am not the leaſt concern'd; but it falls out unluckily for my accuſers, that they pretend I am too much regarded by ſo great a City for aſſiſting them on all occaſions (which I ſhall ever be proud of) and yet all the while blame me for ſtopping their Orphans Bill by my only intereſt here: A direct contradiction.

I have troubled your Lordſhips too long about ſo ſlight a matter; which indeed was unneceſſary; for though it happen'd once that many miſdemeanors amounted to a treaſon, I am confident a thouſand ſlanders out of the mouth of what great man ſoever, will never here be able to give a ſuſpicion of miſdemeanor, unleſs of himſelf who ſlanders.

My Lords,

I am too often entertaining your Lordſhips on all other occaſions; and perhaps ſhould be too apt to do it in my own caſe, eſpecially if any Lord ſhould either object, or recite amiſs; which in this debate has been found not impoſſible. I ask your leave therefore to withdraw; not doubting but

in ſuch a caſe, my innocence will be ſafe under your Lordſhips protection, and much better defended than if I were here my ſelf to look after it.

OBSER-

OBSERVATIONS

ON THE

Statute of Treaſons,

Paſſed the 25th of EDWARD III.

OBSERVATIONS
ON THE
Statute of Treaſons.

I AM ſenſible it becomes me to be very circumſpect, when I advance any thing that is ſingular in a part of learning, in which I have been ſo little converſant: I ſhall only therefore propoſe my opinions, with the grounds for them, leaving their probability to be decided by others, whoſe profeſſion has qualified them to be proper judges.

1. THE firſt article of this ſtatute is about compaſſing or imagining the King's death; and upon that, my Lord COKE aſſerts a little oddly, in my humble opinion, that a perſon not *compos mentis*, and an *infant*, are neither of them to be comprehended within this ſtatute, becauſe they cannot be ſuppoſed capable of any deſign: And he ſays farther,

That although by the ſtatute of 33 HEN. 8. a man falling mad after the fact, was to be try'd and attainted notwithſtanding; and, if after the condemnation, was yet to be executed; it was too cruel and inhumane a law to be long unrepeal'd.

I cannot but think this opinion of his a little extraordinary, becauſe of the great facility there may be either of an infant's being put upon committing a miſchief of this kind; or of any perſon's counterfeiting madneſs for that very purpoſe: We know too, of how unlimited an age an infant in law is, provided he be under twenty one years. So that methinks, where ſo general and publick a miſchief is to be prevented, no loop-hole for eſcaping ought to be admitted.

A man's falling mad after ſuch a fact, is ſo ill an excuſe from puniſhment, that (beſides the great temptation of counterfeiting it) ſuch a diſorder of the brain may be very well ſuppoſed an uſual conſequence of ſo black a crime; eſpecially when the criminal hears that dreadful ſentence which our law pronounces againſt it.

AND if my Lord COKE's opinion in this caſe ſhould prevail, I believe few would ever die for treaſon; ſince a man muſt be really

really mad, not to affect it in such a case of necessity. Neither do I see why there should be so great a tenderness as is sufficient to ballance the punishing so black a mischief; for to one truly distracted, death is not so great an evil, as his suffering may be a good to others by way of terrour and example.

2. 'Tis no wonder the meer design against a King's life is treason by this statute; since, at the time of making it, the design only of murdering any body was felony, and punish'd with death. This was the only difference; That, in case of a subject, the ill design was to appear by some act of violence, as wounding, *&c.* but in this case, any act whatsoever that proves such a design, is sufficient. My Lord Coke is of opinion, That no *Words* are enough for being accounted an overt-act, unless set down in writing by the criminal; in which I think he leaves it yet too general; because writing is almost as subject to misconstruction, as speaking: though I confess his instance is a good one, of Cardinal Pool's exhortation to the Emperor for his invading *England* in Henry the Eighth's time: which must be allow'd to be a paramount overt-

act of treaſon, though he ſhould have written but one letter about it.

3. I am a little unſatisfy'd alſo with another explanation of this act by my Lord COKE, where he ſays that deſigning to depoſe, impriſon, or take into one's power the King, is within this ſtatute; and yet will not allow a deſign of levying war to be ſo. For the only reaſon which he gives himſelf, why thoſe firſt deſigns are within the ſtatute, is the great danger a King muſt needs be in, when ſo depoſed or impriſoned; for the bare words of the ſtatute do not reach it: Now, ſure, the ſame inference, if a good one, holds as well in this latter caſe; ſince a war levy'd againſt a King, may as well endanger his perſon, as either a depoſition, or an impriſonment. But the truth is, a meer deſign of depoſition, impriſonment, or levying war, are not within the bare words of this law; but yet the Judges in all times have ſo over-rul'd it otherwiſe, that whoſoever is miſchievous enough to be found guilty of ſuch ill deſigns, will, to his coſt, find the Judges as miſchievous in ſtretching the law againſt him; though all the while they pretend to be of his Council.

4. ALL

4. ALL Lawyers are of opinion, that by this ſtatute is meant even a King *de Facto*; for they ſay a King *de Jure* may afterwards puniſh, according to this ſtatute, any man who has for any cauſe but his Title, conſpired againſt a King *de Facto*. The reaſon of which ſeems to be good; ſince the publick is more concern'd in having their peace and plenty diſturb'd, than in preferring one King before another, or in determining the rights of the two *Roſes*. For I would fain know, if it had not been better for the poor people of *England* that ſome third Branch had obtain'd the Crown from them both, and poſſeſs'd it quietly, than to be torn in pieces with ſuch a Civil War as we cannot read without horror.

5. THE next Treaſon in this Act is about violating the Queen; and the words are (*la Compagne du Roy*) which might be underdood of any Miſtreſs a King ſhould own publickly, if the weight of the crime lay only in diſreſpect or injury to the King; but 'tis chiefly in the diſturbance it may give the publick: and therefore the King's Wife only can be here underſtood, becauſe the people are highly concern'd in his Iſſue by her; but have nothing to do with his illegitimate Children,

Children, or with thoſe Women by whom he has them.

So alſo the Statute mentions only the King's eldeſt Daughter, and his eldeſt Son's Wife; whereas the diſreſpect to him would be as great in violating his ſecond Daughter, or his ſecond Son's Wife: But in that caſe the publick is not ſo concern'd, on whoſe account chiefly this Law was made, and not ſo much out of regard to his Perſon or Dignity.

6. 'Tis generally taken for granted, and, as I remember, my Lord Coke himſelf ſays, *That a Queen-Conſort herſelf is within this Statute, if conſenting to be enjoyed:* But I ſee no ground for that opinion, except Henry the Eighth's practice; there being not a word of it in this Act.

And becauſe the Act provides no puniſhment for a Queen, nor for either of thoſe Princeſſes ſo offending, I believe it is wholly miſtaken, and by the word (violate) a Rape only is intended; and conſequently the women cannot be guilty. For if it was meant otherwiſe, by what juſtice or reaſon ſhould that fact (of love perhaps) draw ſo great a puniſhment on the man, while the woman whoſe falſehood to the King augments her crime, and makes it a double treaſon, yet by this Act wholly eſcapes unpuniſh'd?

BESIDES; what fault has the injur'd King done in ſuch a caſe, that his cuckoldom is to be made publick, and every body is to endeavour the diſcovery of it under pain of miſpriſion; and yet himſelf not freed from ſuch an adulterous wife by any clauſe in this Law, which never mentions her as a criminal? By all which it appears, that a rape only is meant in this ſtatute, (an injury indeed, but not ſo great a ſhame to the husband, according to the fooliſh cuſtom of the world) as indeed the word (*violer*) implies; and had never been, I believe, interpreted otherwiſe, but for HENRY the Eighth, who, to get rid of two wives in his arbitrary way, ſtretch'd it to adultery: with which too he was not contented; but got a Law to paſs, which made it Treaſon both in any woman he ſhould ever marry, and in her Lover alſo, if they could be prov'd to have lain together formerly, and had not acquainted him with it before his marriage: which my Lord HERBERT ſays, did ſo frighten all the women, that he was forc'd to be contented with a widow at laſt; becauſe others were afraid he might pretend to miſs a maidenhead, and ſo cut off a wife's head, as ſoon as he grew weary of her.

UPON

UPON this occaſion, I remember a pleaſant difficulty which happen'd in the time of Queen ELIZABETH. An Act was drawn about eſtabliſhing her iſſue; and the uſual words of ſuch ſtatutes in her licentious Father's reign are (*iſſue lawfully begotten*). This appear'd to the Parliament a little unmannerly; ſo that the words (*iſſue lawfully begotten*) were chang'd into theſe (*natural born iſſue*) and ſometime (*iſſue of her body*): but this being a variation of the cuſtomary phraſe, it gave a jealouſy among the people, that her great favourite LEICESTER intended to ſet up for King ſome baſtard of his after her death, and pretend he was born of her, and bred up privately.

7. ANOTHER obſervation is, that by the word (*Compagne*) a Queen Dowager is excluded, according to the opinion of all Lawyers; yet this is not ſo clear, if we conſider her to have been once (*la Compagne du Roy*) by which that word may reach her, eſpecially within ſome time after her huſband's death; for, during a poſſibility of being left *enceinte*, the reaſon of the Law will include her alſo as well as a King's wife, upon the publick account. All which is ſtill a confirmation of the ſtatute's meaning only a rape;

for elſe, not only a Queen, a King's eldeſt daughter, and his eldeſt ſon's wife, but the widows alſo, are moſt dangerous perſons to be approach'd, and even for ſome time after their husband's death; which conſiſts not with the meaning of a Law that was intended altogether in favour of the ſubject, and for which *England* hath ſung encomiums of King EDWARD to this day.

8. THE next thing in it to be conſider'd, are theſe words (*the King's eldeſt Son and Heir*) by which copulative (*and*) he muſt be his Heir, as well as eldeſt ſon; which ſuppoſes a poſſibility of altering by Act of Parliament the Line of Succeſſion, and taking it from the eldeſt.

9. TIS certainly meant alſo, that, unleſs the King's eldeſt daughter be unmarry'd, and conſequently more expos'd by wanting a husband's care, there is no Treaſon in the caſe; for otherwiſe, a King's ſecond ſon's wife had been named before her, as being nearer the Crown: And this confirms it to be meant a rape all along, to which a ſingle woman is more liable than one probably marry'd to ſome foreign Prince. Whereas from the danger of an intrigue, I ſuppoſe thoſe wiſe Law-makers would hardly have thought

thought her the more ſecure by marriage. If it be urg'd that both the other Ladies protected by this Law are wives, which leſſens the force of my laſt argument; I deſire it may be conſider'd that all the care of thoſe, is only upon account of their husbands, *viz.* the King, and Prince of WALES, in whom the publick is ſo much concern'd; but not at all for them, before they become thoſe Princes wives: Whereas one ſo near the Crown as a King's eldeſt daughter, is in her own perſon of too great conſequence, not to be guarded by this Law 'till ſhe has a husband, who is then ſuppos'd capable of defending her himſelf againſt all ſuch violent attempts.

IT may be objected, that if a rape only was meant, there was no need of this Law againſt it; becauſe that crime committed againſt the meaneſt perſon was already puniſhable with death: but in this caſe the death is made more ſevere, and alſo the blood attainted.

10. AS to the following Article, my Lord COKE has another odd opinion; That, altho' it comes within this ſtatute, to aſſiſt the King's enemies; it does not reach thoſe who aſſiſt rebels; becauſe (he ſays) rebels cannot properly

perly be call'd enemies, but rather traitors. Accordingly he makes a great difference between the crimes of conſpiring with a foreign Prince (which he accounts Treaſon) and of conſpiring at home with other ſubjects to levy war (which he ſays is none, unleſs the war be actually made) which ſeems as if he allow'd a people, in ſome extraordinary caſes, to project a remedy among themſelves, but never to confide in, or join with, any ſtranger about it.

11. THE next Article is about counterfeiting the Great Seal, and Privy Seal; where both the Privy-Signet, and Sign Manual are left out, but added (I think unwiſely) in a later ſtatute.

12. CLIPPING, waſhing, and filing money for lucre ſake, are alſo added ſince to the Treaſons in this Act about money. But, tho' both theſe additions only ſupply what appears to be rather forgotten than left out of this ſtatute; yet I wonder at thoſe Parliaments that thought ſuch inconſiderable things worth their breaking a gap for an addition of Treaſons, after their wiſe anceſtors had by this Law made ſuch a fence againſt them, by taking away all thoſe at the common Law.

13. BUT

13. BUT the moſt conſiderable part of all this ſtatute is the word (*provably*) a moſt ſignificant one; and yet in our printed Statute-books 'tis changed into the word (*probably*) one moſt dangerous, and unintelligible, and worthy of a publick amendment in Parliament: For tho' 'tis rectify'd in the margin of KEBLE's collection; ſuch a wrong word foiſted in, is a little ſuſpicious, and would hardly be continu'd ſo long there by chance. Perhaps it has been thought there is more need of diſcouraging all ſuch attempts, than of ſetting bounds to the Judges, or Jury; but 'tis plain that King EDWARD the third was not of that mind.

14. THE next thing is the clauſe which makes it Treaſon to kill the Chancellor, Treaſurer, or any Juſtice in doing his office; by which their perſons are not otherwiſe protected than in the execution of their employments: And the reaſon why a King's perſon is made by this Law ſo very ſacred at all times, is becauſe he is always executing his great office either by himſelf or his deputies; all acts of juſtice running ſtill in his name, who is ever ſuppos'd to intend that right ſhould be done even againſt himſelf or favourites; and therefore any failure of

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it in thoſe deputies is puniſhable, notwithſtanding any direction they may have from him to excuſe it.

15. THERE are three other Treaſons mentioned after this; of a wife's killing her husband; a ſervant his maſter; or a clergyman his prelate; on which I will only obſerve, that a worſe than all theſe is omitted; in imitation I ſuppoſe of old *Rome*, which made no Law againſt Parricides, becauſe they thought human villainy incapable of arriving at ſo great a height. But our anceſtors might have conſider'd, that two thouſand years are a great while for miſchief to grow in, eſpecially in theſe hot Climates of Zeal and Enthuſiaſm.

16. NOW comes the moſt important clauſe in this Act to be conſider'd, which is in theſe words. "And becauſe that many other "like caſes of Treaſon may happen in time to "come, which a man cannot think nor de-"clare at this preſent time, it is accorded, "That if any other caſe, ſuppoſed Treaſon, "which is not above ſpecify'd, doth happen "before any Juſtices; the Juſtices ſhall tarry "without any going to judgment of the "Treaſon, 'till the cauſe be ſhew'd and de-

" clar'd before the King and his Parliament, " whether it ought to be judg'd Treaſon or " Felony."

THERE has been ſo great a difference in opinion about the true interpretation of this clauſe, that I hope it is a little excuſable, if (in a matter allow'd by all to be obſcure enough) a man ſo ignorant of the Laws as I am, ſhould happen to be as much in the wrong as many others.

BUT, to begin with the ſeveral interpretations of this clauſe: Some will have it underſtood, that it gives a right to the judicial power of the Houſe of Lords, to judge any other facts Treaſon which they ſhall think of ſuch ill conſequence to the publick, as to deſerve that name, and the puniſhment belonging to it. For, they ſay by the word (Parliament) in matters of judicatory, is always meant the Houſe of Lords only; becauſe the other Houſe has nothing to do with things of that nature, unleſs to accuſe and bring offenders before the Lords to be tried. And as to the King's being mention'd in the clauſe; they pretend that 'tis only according to the form in all courts of judicature, where the King is always ſuppoſed to be virtu-

virtually preſent; eſpecially in that ſupreme Court, at the upper end of which his throne is ever under a canopy, and where he comes himſelf on all ſolemn occaſions.

OTHERS are of opinion, That at this time when ſuch care was taken to limit treaſons, and retrench ſo many as were before at the common Law, it could not be the meaning of that cautious Parliament, in the ſame act of ſecurity to the ſubjects, to ſet up an arbitrary power, tho' in the higheſt Court, of making new treaſons as often as the Judges ſhould bring it before them: And therefore they conclude, ſince theſe words (the King and his Parliament) are in their plain ſignification (an Act of Parliament), and ſince the reaſon alſo appears to be on that ſide, becauſe an Act for limitation of treaſons would hardly eſtabliſh an unlimited power to declare new ones; that it ought to be thus underſtood, *viz.* That ſince there may happen crimes of ſo dangerous a nature, as to appear before the Judges of equal guilt with thoſe which are mention'd in this Act; yet they are here ſtrictly forbid to meddle with them. So this clauſe is an additional caution for the ſecurity of the ſubject, in re-

ſtraining thoſe who are but too apt to make inferences of ſeverity, in flattery to that Government from which they expect advancement. But, at the ſame time, *in terrorem*, all is refer'd to a Parliament (King, Lords, and Commons) who, for extraordinary crimes againſt the publick good, may provide as unuſual puniſhments, by that arbitrary power which is ſafely entruſted no where elſe.

THESE two opinions have been argued very much of late years ſince the Earl of STRAFFORD's buſineſs; and they who maintain them, have yet agreed in this; that by that clauſe of King EDWARD, whatever caſe ſhall be determin'd either in the Lord's houſe (according to one opinion) or by an Act of Parliament (according to the other) that determination ſhall be a new ſettlement of the Law for the future; and that crime muſt be judg'd treaſon in *Weſtminſter-hall* for ever after, by force of this ſtatute of EDWARD the Third: And therefore (ſay they) to avoid that inconvenience of encreaſing the number of treaſons, that Act againſt the Earl of STRAFFORD expreſſly forbids it to go farther, or be a precedent to inferior Courts; without which caution, it muſt have been now

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a ſettled treaſon for any man to ſay and do thoſe things that were prov'd againſt that Earl; ſome of which are of ſo ambiguous a nature, that ſo prudent a Parliament was very much divided in the interpretation of them; and therefore univerſally agreed, that ſuch a dubious caſe ſhould never be ſubject to the determination of common Judges and Jury.

I know very well, at that time, (as 'tis uſual in Parliament debates) and often ſince, it has been urg'd as a reproach to that proceeding againſt my Lord STRAFFORD, that even in the Act which deſtroy'd him, yet care is taken againſt any ſuch ſeverity for the future.

BUT that is a perfect miſtake in ſome, and a meer fallacy in others; for the care of that Parliament for the future, in the caſes of others, is only as I have expreſs'd it above, for fear the ordinary Courts below ſhould follow, and perhaps miſtake the precedent, according to this clauſe of EDWARD the Third: and not in the leaſt to confine a future Parliament (which is impoſſible) or to cenſure themſelves as doing a thing then, which even they who did it thought it too ſevere ever to be done again: For either of

thoſe intentions, of confining a future Parliament, or of cenſuring themſelves, is ſuch a weakneſs, as not only the Three Eſtates of a Nation, but no three men in it are poſſibly to be imagin'd capable of. Whereas it was very wiſe and juſt in them to conſider that, altho' by the neceſſity of the times and iniquity of thoſe arbitrary deſigns in which my Lord of STRAFFORD was ſo very able an inſtrument, it was thought juſt and fit to deſtroy one man, in order to ſave the whole; yet ſuch a caſe was much too nice for inferior Judges to determine, or imitate them in; and therefore they reſtrain'd them by that particular clauſe in the Bill againſt my Lord of STRAFFORD, which has made ſo much noiſe in the world; but without which, it is very probable the Judges would have made as much miſchief.

BESIDES theſe two opinions of that clauſe in the Act of 25 EDWARD III, there is another interpretation of it; which ſuppoſes, that it neither meant there ſhould be an Act of Parliament to declare a new treaſon, nor that one Houſe of Parliament alone ſhould be truſted with ſuch an arbitrary power; but that by the word (Parliament) is to be under-

underſtood the Two Houſes together, which conſtitute it; with whom the King too is ſuppos'd to be virtually preſent, who yet have not power in themſelves alone to declare a new treaſon, without authority given them by this clauſe. Whereas it was wholly unneceſſary, in caſe an Act of Parliament was meant; becauſe a King, Lords, and Commons (who muſt all join to paſs an Act) have need of no ſuch clauſe either to empower or defend them.

THO' all theſe three opinions have been countenanc'd by very able men, I hope it will be no arrogance to make objections to them all. However, I ſhall have two of them ſtill on my ſide, while I am diſputing againſt the third.

THE firſt opinion was that of the Houſe of Lords only being meant in this clauſe; with which I muſt needs differ, tho' unwillingly, for theſe reaſons.

FIRST, Becauſe ſo great and arbitrary a power as this, can never be ſuppos'd given by Three Eſtates to only one of them; by which the lives and fortunes of all the ſubjects in *England* would be at the diſpoſal of the Peers.

SECONDLY, Becauſe in thoſe leſſer caſes of appeals from *Chancery*, and Writs of Error, where only money is concern'd; yet it may be obſerv'd, that even there an arbitrary deciſion of the Lords is ſubmitted to, only that it may be taken from the Chancellor and the Judges: And indeed by ſetting up an aſſembly to which we may in thoſe caſes appeal, the ſubjects are not expos'd, but rather ſecur'd againſt too much power in the *Chancery*, and in other Courts below.

THIRDLY, Tho' it muſt be confeſs'd, that by the word (Parliament) is ſometimes meant only the Houſe of Lords; as when cauſes are ſaid to be brought into Parliament, or the like; yet that is only becauſe the other Houſe has nothing to do in ſuch matters, and therefore it needs no explanation: and 'tis the ſame when we ſpeak of Elections to Parliament, where the Houſe of Commons alone muſt needs be underſtood, becauſe there are no Elections into the other Houſe. But how is it poſſible that in a new Law, and of the greateſt importance imaginable, and for the quiet ſettlement of all people's minds for the future, it ſhould be meant of one Houſe only, and yet expreſs'd

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ambiguouſly, or rather indeed plainly to the contrary, by the word (Parliament) which is an aſſembly neceſſarily compos'd of two Houſes?

I can imagine no reply will be made to this, unleſs it could be pretended that in the time when this Act was made, the word (Parliament) always ſignified the Houſe of Lords only; even juſt as the word (Peers) does now: But it is manifeſtly the contrary in all the hiſtories and records of that age.

THE *Second* opinion was, That by theſe words (the Judges ſhall tarry till the cauſe be ſhew'd and declar'd before the King and his Parliament) it is intended there ſhould be a new Act of Parliament in any ſuch caſe, before the party be condemn'd; and after that, the Judges and Juries ſhall find the ſame fact Treaſon ever after.

NOW to this I have theſe objections.

1*ſt*, THERE is nothing in theſe words importing any obligation on the Judges after the caſe hath once been ſtated, and brought into Parliament; they are only directed to ſtay proceedings, and to bring it hither.

AND 2*dly*, If the Judges had been ſo oblig'd, yet that had been a good argument againſt

againſt our interpreting it to be meant of an Act of Parliament, and ſo one part of this opinion deſtroys the other: For, to what purpoſe ſhould a Parliament in EDWARD the Third's time authoriſe, or direct all future Parliaments? 'Tis authoriſing, to declare that what thoſe Parliaments enact, ſhall be Law; and it is directing, to ſay, That whenever ſuch Law ſhall paſs, inferiour Courts ſhould act ever after by the ſame meaſure. Whereas certainly the prudence of a preſent Parliament is likely to judge better of what new power ſhould be then given the Judges, than one in EDWARD the Third's time, ſo many hundred years before any ſuch new crime was committed.

THE other interpretation of this clauſe was, That both Houſes were meant by the word (Parliament) for, ſay they, it was needleſs to authoriſe King, Lords, and Commons, who have always an unlimited power; and it had been giving too great an authority to one Houſe only, *viz.* the Houſe of Lords; and therefore the meaning muſt needs be, that a Parliament compos'd of both Houſes ſhould interpret all ſuch caſes which are too hard for the Judges, and not expreſs'd in this Law plainly enough for them to preſume to meddle with it.

Now this perhaps would be a plauſible interpretation, if the words had not been (before the King and his Parliament.) For, tho' to the firſt opinion of its being meant of the Houſe of Lords only, the mentioning a King is no objection; becauſe his name is always uſed in a Court of Judicature, where he is ſuppoſed to be virtually preſent; and becauſe *Weſtminſter-hall* it ſelf where the Judges ſate was anciently a part of that houſe where the King liv'd: Yet to thoſe who take it to be meant of both Houſes, it is a very good objection; becauſe there is no colour of reaſon for the King's being ſo nam'd in the clauſe, if the two Houſes are enabled by it to declare new Treaſons without him, and perhaps even againſt his opinion.

The two Houſes of Parliament have certainly a very great authority as well as credit in this nation; and whatever they concur in, will bear ſuch a weight along with it, as to break through almoſt any oppoſition. But yet there are bounds ſet even to the Royal Prerogative, and to the two Houſes alſo; by which no alteration is allow'd to be made by them alone in any Law, much leſs in this the moſt important of all our

Laws.

Laws. An Act too ſacred to be changed by any power leſs than omnipotent; I mean the Legiſlature, conſiſting of King, Lords, and Commons joined together.

BUT now my greateſt task begins; and I find it much eaſier to make objections, than to eſtabliſh any thing that ſhall be liable to none. However, if I went no farther in a matter of ſo much difficulty, it may be of ſome uſe to expoſe all erroneous interpretations; ſince any poſitive miſtake of this clauſe is fatal, and a thouſand times more dangerous, than a modeſt doubtfulneſs under ſo great an uncertainty.

YET becauſe it may be of ſome little uſe to my ſelf, and cannot in the leaſt be prejudicial to others; I am reſolv'd to gueſs a little what the meaning of this oraculous clauſe ſhould be, which runs in theſe words: ("And becauſe that many other like caſes "of Treaſon may happen in time to come, "which a man cannot think nor declare "at this preſent time; it is accorded, That "if any other caſe, ſuppoſed Treaſon, which "is not above ſpecify'd, doth happen before "any Juſtices, the Juſtices ſhall tarry without "going to judgment of the Treaſon, 'till "the cauſe be ſhew'd and declar'd before

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" the King and his Parliament, whether it " ought to be judg'd Treaſon or other Fe- " lony.")

FIRST then it is agreed by all Lawyers, that one of the beſt ways of finding out the meaning of an obſcure Law, is examining well the Preamble to it, which in this is very ſhort, as well as the Act it ſelf, and runs in theſe words, (" Whereas divers opinions " have been before this time, in what caſe " Treaſon ſhall be ſaid, and in what not; " the King, at the requeſt of the Lords and " of the Commons, hath made a declara- " tion in the manner as hereafter follow- " eth.") By which it appears plainly, that a wiſe Parliament, and a good King as wiſe alſo as themſelves, intended to put an end to all uncertainty in matters of Treaſon; than which nothing can be more dangerous to a People's quiet, and conſequently to a King's. This uncertainty was partly for want of a Statute-law; the Common-law being made up of Precedents only, ſome good, and ſome ill; and partly from the different tempers, or occaſions of Princes, with which the Judges are always too apt to comply.

BUT it had been directly contrary to ſo good a deſign, if they had made this clauſe

in the ſenſe that moſt underſtand it, which is this; That if a poor man (juſt cautious enough to avoid all the Treaſons in this Act, and yet perhaps not ſo prudent as he ſhould be) falls into ſome unuſual fault, he ſhall bear the heavieſt of puniſhments by virtue of a Law which he could never underſtand, becauſe the crime muſt be declared after his fact is committed.

SECONDLY, What appears in nature more oppoſite to a law of indulgence and ſecurity (as this certainly is, notwithſtanding its being penal) than to put all our lives and fortunes into the arbitrary power either of the Lords, or Lords and Commons together.

I allow that, if the King's conſent be added to that of both Houſes, all thoſe three Eſtates in conjunction ought to be arbitrary: And no body has a right to complain of the legiſlative power, in which himſelf has a ſhare.

BUT, tho' that interpretation of the clauſe is the moſt conſiſtent with this Preamble of ſafety to the ſubjects, who can be in no danger of injuſtice from the legiſlative power, tho' never ſo arbitrary: Yet 'tis wholly inconſiſtent with reaſon, that a Parliament in EDWARD the Third's reign ſhould intend to adviſe

adviſe all future Parliaments; by declaring that ſome like caſes may happen in their time, and deſerve their paſſing a new Law about it. For advice it can only be, ſince it would have been equally unneceſſary and abſurd, for one Parliament to have pretended to give authority to another.

WHAT then ſhould be the meaning of this clauſe, about which our little world has made ſuch a buſtle?

IN my humble opinion, no more than this.

A wiſe King and Parliament foreſaw, that a limitation of Treaſons was ſo great an indulgence, as poſſibly to be made ill uſe of by ſome who did not deſerve it; and yet, to their eternal honour, they preferr'd a general eaſe and quiet, even to that and all other conſiderations. But to keep buſy people the more in awe, who would eſcape by the favour of this Act from any condemnation of Treaſon, they hung out a flaming ſword over their heads in this clauſe; which in truth is only minatory, and nothing elſe. That ſo the Judges being commanded to tarry, and not to give any ſentence in enormous caſes (which after this Law, could not be ſo ſevere as perhaps ſome caſes might

deſerve) ill perſons might be the more apprehenſive of a Parliament's heavier and more arbitrary puniſhment, whenever they did any unuſual crime to provoke it. For that method would have been againſt the rules of juſtice, in trying a criminal twice for the ſame offence, unleſs they had by this clauſe oblig'd the Judges to tarry, and ſuſpend the cauſe 'till the ſitting of a Parliament.

By which laſt words it may be obſerv'd alſo that frequency of Parliaments was a thing of courſe in thoſe times, as much almoſt as the four Terms are now for affairs of a more private nature.

But ſince I underſtand this clauſe to be only Minatory, in order to deter and not to puniſh offenders; it will be objected that if this opinion were right, there had been no occaſion for all that caution, which I my ſelf had juſt now obſerv'd in the Bill againſt my Lord of Strafford.

I muſt therefore take notice of an error ſo very general, that I am almoſt afraid to encounter it with my ſingle opinion.

'Tis commonly believ'd that by this clauſe in the Act of the 25th of Edward III, the Judges are empower'd to hold and declare in their courts to be Treaſon, whatſoever

ever crimes ſhall be at any time judg'd Treaſon in Parliament. As for example, JOHN KERBY a mercer and JOHN ALGORE a grocer of the city of *London*, in the time of RICHARD II, had kill'd JOHN IMPERIAL, a publick Miniſter from the State of *Genoa*; and the Parliament happening to be ſitting, paſs'd an Act 3 RICHARD II. that they ſhould be attainted of High Treaſon in the *King's Bench*; and they were executed accordingly. It was ſaid, that all Judges after this were oblig'd to hold for Treaſon the killing any foreign Miniſter in the ſame manner, notwithſtanding it is none of thoſe crimes recited in the Act of 25 EDWARD III. And the only reaſon they gave for this opinion is the clauſe aforementioned, which therefore I will repeat again; ("And becauſe that many other "like caſes of Treaſon may happen in time to "come, which a man cannot think nor de"clare at this preſent time; it is accorded, "That if any other caſe, ſuppoſed Treaſon, "which is not above ſpecified, doth happen "before any Juſtices, the Juſtices ſhall tarry "without any going to judgment of the Trea"ſon, 'till the cauſe be ſhew'd and declar'd be"fore the King and his Parliament whether it "ought to be judg'd Treaſon or other Felony.')

NOW I believe no man in the word unprejudiced with a former opinion, will underſtand theſe words otherwiſe than thus. That, however enormous the caſes ſhall happen to be, the Judges ſhall never go beyond the bare letter of this Law, but leave all to the ſafer judgment of Parliament.

AND if a Parliament upon an extraordinary occaſion, as that of the *Genoa* Embaſſador, ſhall in their great prudence inflict any unuſual puniſhment; by what colour of reaſon ſhould that be conſtrued, as if they would have all the ordinary Judges hereafter do the ſame thing, without tarrying for their judgment?

ONE Parliament's proceeding is the beſt ſort of precedent for another: But that it ſhould be an example for inferiour Courts, is as prepoſterous and dangerous, as if a School-maſter ſhould imitate a General, and inſtead of whipping a ſcholar, ſhould put him to death by a general council of ſchool-boys.

BESIDES, the very meaning of the clauſe is only to reſtrain the forwardneſs of inferiour courts; and yet this abſurd interpretation enlarges their authority; by which it is not hard to gueſs how it comes to be encourag'd.

ADD to this alſo, that ſuppoſing it were fit to enlarge their power of judging any new offence,

offence, why ſhould not the ſame Parliament which firſt determines that offence, determine alſo what new power the Judges ſhould have concerning it? whereas by their interpretation it muſt be underſtood, as if a Parliament in EDWARD the Third's time undertook to judge of new caſes that might happen in ours, and increas'd the juriſdiction of future Judges in all thoſe yet unknown caſes.

UPON this vulgar error, the Parliament in my Lord of STRAFFORD's caſe, (being compos'd of ſome members infected with it, and of others who found it neceſſary to ſatisfy thoſe members as well as the reſt of the world in their fears about it) *ex abundanti cautela*, added this clauſe in that Act againſt the Earl of STRAFFORD: (" Provided that " no Judge or Judges, Juſtice or Juſtices " whatſoever, ſhall adjudge or interpret any " Act or Thing to be Treaſon, in any other " manner than he or they, ſhould, or ought " to have done before the making of this Act, " and as if this Act had never been or made.")

THIS was ſo prudent a caution in that time of preſumptuous Judges, (in imitation of the like wiſdom expreſs'd in an Act of the firſt of Queen MARY) that it ought not to be blam'd: tho' it has accidentally con-

firm'd many in their miſtake about the Judges power, after that Act was paſs'd, if this Proviſo (laſt repeated) had not prevented it.

BUT certainly, if the Act of EDWARD the Third placed no ſuch power in the Judges; this clauſe againſt any ſuch power, brought in for the greater caution, is far from giving a new interpretation to that Law, or any ſuch addition; eſpecially ſo dangerous a one as this would be.

IT is not altogether foreign to this matter, if I obſerve another very common miſtake about that Bill againſt my Lord of STRAFFORD. Abundance of people, eſpecially the old *Cavaliers*, underſtand this Proviſo laſt recited as a reflection on the Bill it ſelf; and as if his caſe was ſo very hard even in the opinion of the Parliament it ſelf, that it was ordered by this clauſe to be no precedent for the future.

THIS is a ridiculous error in many reſpects: Firſt, Becauſe doing a thing in one Parliament, and ordering it to be no precedent to another, is an errant bull; ſince the very doing it, is, and muſt be a precedent at the ſame time 'tis ordered that it ſhall be none. Secondly, It would have been an unparallell'd open injuſtice, to put one man to death

death for ſuch a crime, as even in the opinion of thoſe who puniſh'd him, was not great enough to be capital in any other perſon, or at any other time. And it will not weaken this argument to ſay, That it was an unjuſt, cruel Act, and therefore a good many diſſented from it: For thoſe diſſenting members themſelves could not be ſo uncharitable as to imagine all the members of both Houſes who paſs'd the Bill, not only ſo baſe and bloody as to be all the while againſt it in their conſciences, but ſo fooliſh alſo as to own it in the very Bill it ſelf. And therefore nothing can be plainer than that 'tis only a groſs miſtake among ignorant people, to think they meant it in that manner.

ACCORDINGLY, that Act of CHARLES II, which has revers'd this Bill of Attainder, and in the Preamble recited every thing imaginable in favour of that Earl, yet takes no notice of this clauſe, which had more diſcredited the Bill than all the reſt, if it could have been interpreted in that manner.

THE laſt clauſe in the Bill is about Highway-men, who had formerly been condemn'd for Traitors, only to inveſt the Crown with their forfeited eſtates. Here it is moſt juſtly provided, that hereafter they ſhall only ſuf-

fer as felons, or treſpaſſers, according to the known Laws in thoſe caſes; and all ſuch ill-gotten eſtates are again reſtored by the Crown. Which is another remarkable inſtance of the benign intention of thoſe wiſe Legiſlators, ſhining almoſt in every word of this famous Law.

I would not have communicated theſe rambling thoughts to any but a friend; nor to your ſelf neither; if, among the ſeveral miſinterpretations upon my reſigning one great Employment, and refuſing a greater, you had not ſuſpected me of a little lazineſs; from which I hope this way of imploying my leiſure, may be ſome vindication; and I wiſh it does not prove a much greater, by ſhewing I needed no other reaſon beſides my diſability, for not accepting the higheſt Poſt in a profeſſion I was never bred to; an honour too much, to think any man fit for, except a Lawyer.

TWO
DIALOGUES.

A

DIALOGUE

BETWEEN

Auguſtus Cæſar,

AND

CARDINAL RICHELIEU.

Aug. WHAT's the meaning of all this ceremony? Can wiſe men turn fops after they are dead?

R. SURE, 'tis impoſſible to pay too much reſpect to the great *Auguſtus*.

Aug. I was ſo cloy'd with it in the other world, that I cannot endure it yet, tho' it be ſo long ago; and beſides, among equals, as we are all here, what can be more propoſterous?

R. INDEED, if it were to your rank, you would have reaſon to ſay ſo; but I was never guilty of much ſubmiſſion that way.

Aug.

Aug. No: Your own King *Lewis* XIII. will clear you of that fault.

R. I confeſs I deſpis'd him always for his ſlothfulneſs and incapacity; and from the ſame cauſe proceeds all my reverence to you; for no man ever knew ſo well how to ſatiſfy himſelf, and the world too, at the ſame time.

Aug. I did make indeed a pretty good figure, and truly you have made no ill one: Come, let us ſit down together under theſe ſhades.

R. NOT *to be alive again:* What! ſit cheek by jole with the wife, the happy AUGUSTUS! the perfection of prudence, the pattern of Princes, and admiration of all the world for theſe ſeventeen hundred years!

Aug. SURE you think you are wheedling your own LEWIS ſtill. What titles are here to no manner of purpoſe? What have I done to deſerve all theſe fulſome complements?

R. WHAT have you not done? Is it nothing to get the government of the whole world into your hands before you were twenty years old, and make it happy under that government, till you died at fourſcore? But

yet,

yet, to ſhew you I mean no compliments, I have one objection even to you.

Aug. I thought at laſt the haughty Cardinal RICHELIEU would have ſome exception to any body that was above him.

R. AND you to any body that would not let you be ſo.

Aug. I find we know one another as well as if we had liv'd in the ſame age.

R. BUT we agree a little better: After all, I really admire you of all the Princes that ever reign'd. But yet——

Aug. BUT what?

R. SHALL I ſpeak freely?

Aug. ON condition I may do the ſame.

R. AGREED. Then with your leave I muſt tell you, the world has had juſt cauſe to accuſe you of two the greateſt crimes imaginable, ingratitude and cruelty; and tho' I was myſelf inclined to the laſt, yet when joined with the firſt, I, and all mankind abhor it.

Aug. TWO heavy faults indeed; and if guilty, all the greatneſs I had, was not worth the buying it at ſo dear a rate.

R. PERHAPS you think ſo now indeed.

Aug.

Aug. WELL, 'tis easy to guess what you mean; but you little imagine how well I can clear myself.

R. INDEED I cannot; since, with reverence be it spoken, for all your mighty fame, your word will not pass one jot in this matter.

Aug. YES it shall, as I will order it.

R. HOW so? Is it enough for a criminal to deny his crime?

Aug. YES, if he confesses enough besides to condemn him: I will discover a thousand follies (which among us politicians are the faults we are most asham'd of) rather than lie under this aspersion any longer. But I will make one condition.

R. WHAT?

Aug. THAT you will confess as ingenuously how you came by all your greatness; for among friends, you and I know 'tis not to be gotten honestly.

R. WELL, well, if it may go no farther.

Aug. NOT to the other world, y[illegible] be [illegible].

R. YOU have given me so [illegible] and impatience to know y[illegible] that at return, I will te[illegible]

ſincerely than ever I did to my Confeſſor.

Aug. OR elſe I ſhould not be much the wiſer: For I ſuppoſe, that chriſtian trick of getting out ſecrets, did not paſs on you. I'll begin then. You muſt know, the world has been miſtaken in me throughout; but 'tis no wonder, for the very age I liv'd in, never knew me.

R. I thought AUGUSTUS CÆSAR had been no ſuch obſcure perſon.

Aug. OR elſe I had never been ſo famous. The *Romans*, as knowing as they were, never underſtood me right; they did me much honour on one hand, and as much wrong on the other. They all thought me ſo wiſe, to mind nothing but my intereſt; and ſo wicked, as to ſacrifice all things in nature to it, even thoſe who had moſt oblig'd me.

R. WHY, between friends, that is counted no ſuch great fault among us politicians.

Aug. IT may be then, you will count it my folly, not to be ill-natur'd enough.

R. I am not very apt to ſuſpect you of that fault. But pray go on.

Aug. THE firſt part of my life is famous for my being too hard for all the world before

fore I was ſcarce a man; and infamous for yielding up CICERO to MARK ANTONY.

R. RIGHT: Theſe are the two things that eſtabliſh your character of being very wiſe, and very ungrateful.

Aug. I really was neither. CICERO did all for me in the gaining that power, which AGRIPPA and MECENAS managed ſo well afterwards.

R. IN that you confeſs all your obligations to CICERO; and truly you return'd them very well: what do you call ingratitude, if this be not ſo?

Aug. NOTHING leſs, as you ſhall hear preſently. I was a raw young heir to the greateſt man that ever was; and all his army join'd with his party to buoy me up, almoſt whether I would or no.

R. 'TWAS a ſad thing, really to be ſo raviſh'd.

Aug. FOR all your raillery, it might have proved ſo, if CICERO had not wanted ſomebody to ſet up againſt ANTONY.

R. TO be capable only of being rival to ſo great a man, was ſufficient proof of your ability.

Aug. NOT at all, conſidering the extravagant imprudence of my enemy, and the

profound policy of my friend; who having once ſet up my reputation, AGRIPPA and MECENAS made it their whole buſineſs to improve it.

R. WERE they ſo good Miniſters?

Aug. THE ableſt, I believe, that ever prince had, and almoſt juſt contrary in every thing to thoſe you have known in later ages.

R. TRULY, that is commendation enough; but ſtill 'tis a ſign of your great prudence, to have choſen your Miniſters ſo well, and continued conſtant to them ſo wiſely.

Aug. WILL you have the truth of it? I was all along in love with MECENAS's wife; and AGRIPPA marry'd my daughter.

R. BUT it was no ſuch eaſy matter, I believe, to make them agree always, in order to your greatneſs.

Aug. IT was for their own too; for they having different talents, one govern'd all the military affairs, and the other the civil; ſo that being very wiſe men, they never claſh'd together like your petty States-men of late days, who think of nothing but ruining one another.

R. BUT ſtill you ſate at the helm, and govern'd all.

Aug.

Aug. YES, but it was ſo calm moſt commonly, that I might have ſlept and done it; for all thoſe good regulations in *Rome* and elſewhere, were only the projects of thoſe admirable Counſellors.

R. 'TIS a more difficult thing than you make it, to have always an able Council.

Aug. NOT if they happen well at firſt, and live a long time afterwards.

R. YES, to maintain them in power againſt all their envious enemies.

Aug. IT was they maintain'd me ſo. And now I have for truth's ſake debaſed myſelf ſo much in your eſteem; 'tis time I ſhould a little recover it again, in regard to the Ingratitude you have accuſed me of; for 'tis only on that account I have confeſſed all this ſo freely.

R. YOU have own'd ſo much againſt yourſelf hitherto, that I am bound to believe now whatever you ſay.

Aug. THUS it was then; CICERO, with all his praiſes, never meant me well; and I once intercepted a letter of his, wherein he declared, I was the fitteſt perſon of all *Rome*, to be raiſed, to be advanced, and then at laſt to be deſtroyed.

R.

R. So what he only ſaid againſt you, you did againſt him; 'tis a little hard to be taken at one's word ſo exactly.

Aug. You run on in a miſtake; for notwithſtanding all this, he had made me ſo fond of him by his flatteries, that I abſolutely refus'd to ſign the proſcription while his name was there.

R. You would make me believe that he is yet alive, if I did not ſee him here every day ſhaking his head (which you cut off) at your going by him ſo confidently.

Aug. He judges, as all *Rome* did, that I connived at his death; when all the while I had like to have loſt the world for his ſake, as Antony did afterwards for Cleopatra's.

R. You will tell me preſently you were as much in love with him, as he was with her.

Aug. *ANTONY* over-reach'd me in the matter, by giving me all the aſſurances imaginable that he would ſpare him for my ſake, if I would ſet him down in the roll for his: and ſo at once cunningly ſatisfied his revenge, and blacken'd me to all poſterity. But I think I was even with him.

R. Was this your quarrel? I thought it was about you Siſter. Why did not you let

the world know this ſtory, to juſtify your-ſelf?

Aug. I was really aſham'd of being us'd ſo like a child; and my friends told me it would never be believ'd, ſince LEPIDUS (who was the only perſon preſent) durſt not diſoblige MARK ANTONY with declaring the truth; for which I was reveng'd of him alſo.

R. THEN, inſtead of being ſo baſe as to ſacrifice your beſt friend to your ambition, it ſeems you fought afterwards more to revenge his death, than your Siſter's injuries.

Aug. JUST ſo: And ANTONY will own all this, for he laughs at me ſtill for it.

R. YOU may give ſuch a loſer leave to laugh a little. And does LEPIDUS laugh too? If they do, they are the merrieſt Ghoſts in *Elyſium*, for methinks they have no ſuch great cauſe.

Aug. No: LEPIDUS cries ſtill for the loſs of his Army, which left him for me, no-body knows why.

R. EXCEPT yourſelf; who I ſuppoſe had laid the buſineſs ſo before-hand.

Aug. WHY, there 'tis: Every thing which ſucceeds, is attributed to prudence. But believe me, there is a great deal more of luck than

than skill, in our game of policy; and the worſt players ſometimes have the better ſucceſs.

R. So it ſeems by you; I will never depend on Hiſtory again.

Aug. 'Tis not ſo much the fault of Hiſtory, as your falſe comments upon it.

R. True: For when once a prepoſſeſſion is over, how one's eyes are open'd! I begin now to recollect a thouſand things, which might have before convinc'd me of your being no ſuch Solomon. Did you not marry a woman, while ſhe was big with child by another man yet alive.

Aug. I confeſs it was an odd way of adopting a child into my family: But I lov'd her belly, big as it was, ſo well, that I could not endure any body elſe ſhould have any thing more to do with it, tho' it were but to bring her to bed.

R. Then to bemoan yourſelf in the ſenate-houſe, for your Daughter's playing the whore.

Aug. Mecenas was dead, or elſe I had never done ſo fooliſh a thing. I remember as well as if it were but yeſterday, how the very graveſt Senators ſneer'd at me to my very face.

R. THEN, to be ſo uxorioufly led by the noſe all your life.

Aug. NOT altogether ſo neither; it was rather by another part; for LIVIA's temper and great prudence ingag'd me almoſt always to be of the ſame mind with her, which the malicious world miſcall'd being govern'd by her.

R. YOU were then ungrateful to her; for you grudg'd her the harmleſs pleaſure of ſeeing young fellows run naked about the ſtreets, 'till ſhe wheedled you to believe they were no more regarded by her than ſo many ſtatues.

Aug. THAT was enough too; and, on my conſcience, ſhe ſpoke equivocally: for now I think on't, ſhe lov'd ſtatues extremely well, and had a great collection.

R. OH, I remember now: MECENAS uſed you at a fine rate, when in a little note he call'd you *Murderer*, and bid you come down from the ſeat of judgment, where I ſuppoſe you were doing ſome barbarous injuſtice.

Aug. HAVE you heard that too? Why the truth of it is, a criminal there had put me into a paſſion, a little unbeſeeming a Judge; which as ſoon as ever that note had made me ſenſible of, I left the trial immediately, for fear

of

of doing injuſtice in my anger; which, by the way, is ſome proof of my not being ſo ill-natur'd, as I am thought to be.

R. No, nor ſo very prudent neither, to be in paſſion on thoſe occaſions. But, *Murderer*, that was a little familiar.

Aug. WELL, but *Cuckold*, that excuſes all things: beſides, you may ſee by that action what care he took of my reputation.

R. BUT above all the reſt; your making TIBERIUS your ſucceſſor rather than one of your own family, is, I confeſs, ſomething ſo extraordinary, that when I admir'd you moſt, I could not excuſe it.

Aug. NEITHER can I do it now. What would you have more? I confeſs myſelf impos'd on all my life; moſt commonly well, but at my death ſo ill, that I am yet aſham'd of it.

A

DIALOGUE

BETWEEN

MAHOMET,

AND THE

Duke of Guiſe.

M. COME let us ſit down here, and laugh a little together at all thoſe tricks you and I have put upon the world.

G. WITH all my heart; What better uſe could we have made of it? Is mankind fit for any thing elſe but to be couſened?

M. YET you muſt confeſs that my way is the more noble, and had ſomething of the ſublime in it; you did your buſineſs by nothing but meer cringeing.

G.

G. YOU are miſtaken: There goes more to popularity than that comes to; and yet the cringeing you ſpeak of, when 'tis of the Mind, is no ſuch eaſy matter.

M. NOT to ſo lofty a one as yours, perhaps; low ſtooping makes a tall man's back ake.

G. YOU are merry, Sir, and therefore I ſuppoſe will not be loth to confeſs ſome of your noble tricks, as you call them.

M. ON condition you tell yours.

G. AGREED, and pray begin: Mine was but lay-diſſembling, which ought to give place to divine-hypocriſy.

M. YOU have heard of my Pigeon, I warrant.

G. YES, and of your Owls too: Could ſuch a groſs thing paſs among them?

M. AS eaſily as a Creed: Nay, at laſt, I might have ſpared my pains of teaching the pretty bird; for the rabble would have fancied her at my ear, tho' ſhe had been all the while fluttering in their faces.

G. NAY, tho' ſhe had been picking out their eyes. For I muſt acknowledge you the beſt of all the Bigot-makers that ever I read of; my ſuperſtitious coxcombs never reach'd either the devotion, or morality of yours.

M. THAT is, becauſe I laid a better bait than any in your Legends. Do you think there is any reſiſting the enjoyment of beautiful women with great eyes, for fifty years together? Is not that more deſirable, than paſſing through flames of purgatory, to only ſpiritual imaginary pleaſures?

G. BUT ſure our joys unſpeakable are above even yours, which indeed in decency ought to have been unſpeakable too.

M. HAVE a care of that; 'twill never do. Whatever is unſpeakable, is alſo unconceivable. But this was not your fault, the ſchoolmen ſhould have mended it.

G. ABUNDANCE of them have try'd to do it.

M. BUT to no purpoſe: 'Tis ſuch a patch'd buſineſs, between the ſuperſtitions of old *Rome* and new *Rome* blended together, that the wiſe at laſt were aſham'd to wear it, and did as good as throw it quite off, by what they call'd a Reformation.

G. VERY well, Sir. But is any thing ſo ridiculous as your lyes?

M. YES, your Legends. But ſhall I confeſs a truth will make amends for all my Lyes?

G. THAT will be ſomething difficult.

M.

M. I began to believe them my ſelf at laſt.

G. Oh ridiculous!

M. I was ſo very fortunate, that I fancied my ſelf a kind of favourite of Heaven; and if I had been put to it, 'tis not impoſſible but I might have died a martyr for a religion of my own invention.

G. THIS is more incredible than any thing in your whole *Alcoran.*

M. THEN, for all your popularity, you are not much skill'd in mankind. Why, we are all but over-grown children, afraid in the dark of our own ſcare-crows; and as fond too ſometimes of the babies we our ſelves trick up.

G. Is it poſſible?

M. YES, to flatter a man into any thing; ALEXANDER himſelf, that pupil of ARISTOTLE, and the very top of all humanity, did at laſt believe that JUPITER was really his father; and by his ſaying that ſleep and luſt convinc'd him of his being mortal, 'tis plain he ſometimes doubted it.

G. LIKE enough. And did your inſtruments SERGIUS the Monk, and the reſt, believe themſelves too?

M. RELI-

M. RELIGIOUS ſort of men, you know, out-do all others in flattery; and I having ſet them up for my ends, they ſanctified me for theirs, 'till we almoſt acted our ſelves into a real veneration for one another. But tell me now a little of your pranks, for you play'd them, I hear, to ſome purpoſe.

G. I had ſo, if the buſineſs at *Blois* had not prevented me.

M. BUT you had a fine time of it 'till then.

G. VERY far from it. Rowing in the Gallies is nothing to the toil of popularity; but ambition is rebutted with nothing.

M. WHY, pray where was all this trouble?

G. FIRST, I never ſaid one word I thought, and paſs'd all my life in gaining ſuch People's affections, whom all the while I contemn'd for being deceiv'd ſo groſſly.

M. BUT yet, you had the pleaſure of advancing your friends every day.

G. AS ſeldom as poſſible, and did it always unwillingly.

M. HOW then came they to follow you ſo much, and almoſt adore you as you went along the ſtreets?

G. NOW

G. Now 'tis you are catch'd; I am glad to find you ſo much out, at the knowledge of mankind.

M. Why pray, what is the matter?

G. Obliging men, is not the way to win them.

M. Methinks it ſhould be ſo.

G. Quite contrary: Every man I advanc'd, thinking his buſineſs done, never minded me afterwards; ſo there I loſt a friend, and made a hundred enemies out of envy to him.

M. But yet you order'd your buſineſs ſo, as to have a great many friends, and few enemies, except the *Huguenots.*

G. True: But 'twas only by ſeeming kind to every body, and all the while caring for nobody. I us'd them juſt like a herd of beaſts, (as indeed they are) encreas'd their number all the ways I could, valu'd them according to their uſe, but lov'd none. Would you have had me fond of a black Ox, or a red Cow?

M. For ought I ſee, never man was beloved ſo much, or deſerv'd it ſo little.

G. Thank you for your complement; and not to be ungrateful, I believe never any Religion has either been ſpread or practiſed

ſo much as yours, and yet without the leaſt ſhadow of wit or learning.

M. THAT is the reaſon it took ſo much. Whoever aims at mankind, muſt not ſhoot high: fine nets may catch birds, but never hold beaſts. Mine were coarſe and ſtrong, worth a thouſand of your ſchool-diſtinctions, which are but ſlight cobwebs ſpun out of eaſe and idleneſs. Being witty out of ſeaſon, is one ſort of folly.

ON
JULIUS CÆSAR.

THAT the lives of famous men are incitements to noble actions, is ſo vulgar a reflection, that all Prefaces are full of it, and every reader feels it. But in JULIUS CÆSAR, not only when he was at the head of armies, but long before he grew ſo conſiderable, there is ſomething ſo very charming, and ſo peculiarly remarkable, that I cannot hold from exerciſing my thoughts on ſuch a noble ſubject; if it be but to put others in mind, who have more leiſure and ability to do it better.

WHEN we read of other Heroes, of ALEXANDER *the Great*, &c. we are more aſtoniſh'd than inſtructed. Perhaps all the circumſtances of their ſtory were not ſo well known; or elſe the writers of it have done both them and poſterity a great deal of wrong, in repreſenting them rather like THESEUS and HERCULES in the fabulous ages,

than naturally in their own proper colours. What they are fam'd for, appears methinks like the Creation of man as deſcrib'd by MOSES; done in an inſtant, and we poor mortals know not how, nor why: With this difference indeed, that in *Paradiſe* a meer human creature was form'd with thoſe failings and imperfections which have been fatal to us ever ſince; whereas ALEXANDER, *&c.* are made ſo extraordinary, or rather ſo extravagant, and doing things ſo impoſſible to human nature, that it ſerves no more to our inſtruction than what PLINY writes of flying Dragons. If this were only an exceſs of commendation, the valour of ſuch worthies is great enough to deſerve, or at leaſt to excuſe an hyperbole: But we ſee 'tis nothing beſides a meer inclination in the writers to romance, and extravagance; for, if they raiſe them above men in ſome places, they depreſs them as much below beaſts in others. What elſe are the fantaſtick unaccountable vanities, the ſottiſh debauches, and the inhuman cruelties of ALEXANDER *the Great?* If you will have my opinion, they are no more to be credited, than his defending himſelf all alone againſt a whole garriſon; where, if he needleſſly threw himſelf into ſuch a dan-

danger, his valour, great as it was, is ſcarce ſufficient to make amends for his raſhneſs; nor does his force ſeem more extraordinary than his folly.

BUT in CÆSAR, all appears moſt naturally becoming, even to his very faults, and imperfections. He is deſcrib'd to us like a a vaſt tree, tall above the whole grove beſides, ſpreading its branches all about, laden with every ſort of delicious fruit: Yet all the while it ſeems natural, and but a Tree; we ſee the very ſeed from whence it grew, and view the daily growth; and obſerve the winds, that would have often torn it up by the roots, had they not been fixed in the firmeſt foundation. It bred indeed ſome cankers within it ſelf: as what in nature is not ſubject to paſſions, and infirmities? Yet he ſtood triumphant even over theſe, his moſt dangerous enemies.

LET us begin with his youth, which was ſo very agreeable, as to pleaſe both the huſbands and wives at the ſame time: This I know has been eſteem'd rather a blemiſh to his reputation, by ſuch grave authors as did not rightly conſider his character. Indeed this had been unpardonable in CATO a Stoick, and a zealous profeſſor of the moſt rigorous ver-

vertue; but CÆSAR's was above all ſuch narrow rules, like the genius of HOMER in poetry, or of APELLES in painting; and could never have ſoar'd ſo high, or made ſuch laſting flights, without reſting it ſelf ſometimes on theſe lower delights of the ſenſes. Yet methinks a nobleneſs of nature appear'd in his very pleaſures, and his ambition of conqueſt began with the wives of CRASSUS and POMPEY, the two greateſt men in the world at that time; who, notwithſtanding their jealouſy, were ſo charm'd by his converſation, that they rais'd him between them to be as conſiderable as themſelves; one by his wealth, the other by his reputation. SERVILIA too muſt needs have been the wonder of her age; for what leſs can we imagine of a woman who was ſiſter of CATO, mother of BRUTUS, and the beloved miſtreſs of JULIUS CÆSAR? Yet all this wandring abroad, did not make him inſenſible at home; for on that diſcovery of CLODIUS, he both ſaid and did the reaſonableſt thing in the world: he choſe rather to part with his wife, than to keep with her a perpetual anxiety of mind; and only gave this reaſonable account of it, that he could not doubt the vertue of his wife, but much leſs bear the world's having

the

the leaſt ſuſpicion of it. I was unwilling to mention, among other failings, his extravagant fondneſs of CLEOPATRA (if fondneſs of the fineſt woman in nature may be call'd extravagant) becauſe it had like to have coſt him both life and reputation, and therefore not to be defended. But ſince his whole carriage in *Egypt* appears the greateſt and almoſt only error of his whole life; 'tis no little excuſe for him, that Love was the only occaſion of it. Love, that reſiſtleſs Paſſion! which has forc'd DAVID to contrive a murder, SOLOMON to commit idolatry, and all mankink to play the fool at one time or other.

BUT we have been too long intent on his pleaſures, as indeed he himſelf was, and ſufficiently ſenſible of it, when a ſtatue of ALEXANDER made him weep; to think another man ſhould have almoſt conquer'd the world at an age when he had ſcarce appear'd in it. The truth is, he was involv'd a-while in debauches, like a fierce Lion in a toil, which his ſtrength of mind broke through on the firſt occaſion that was offer'd him by the ſeveral factions at that time. But I do not mean to write his Life, which has been done ſo often and ſo well already;

but only to make ſome ſhort reflections on it, as my memory ſhall ſerve me; which can hardly fail of ſpringing ſome game in ſuch an ample field of fame and glory. Firſt, The conſpiracy of CATILINE preſents us with a full view of CÆSAR, who was ſo violently ſuſpected to make one in it, that CATO would needs have a Letter open'd publickly in the Senate-houſe, only becauſe it was directed to him: In this ſurprize he acted with as much prudence, as all the time and advice in the world could have furniſh'd him with. For it happening to be a Love-letter from his dear SERVILIA, and therefore not to be expos'd thus before a company of moroſe Senators, who by this accident (one would imagine) muſt neceſſarily find cauſe to cenſure either him, or her, or both, according to his concealing, or expoſing the Letter: Yet CÆSAR in an inſtant not only overcame all this difficulty, but reveng'd himſelf on CATO ſufficiently, for bringing him into the danger; who, tho' long before acquainted with his ſiſter's intrigue, was quickly in more confuſion than CÆSAR, when he threw him the Letter, and bid him read it publickly, if he durſt.

CATO

CATO purſu'd him ſtill, making a moſt violent ſpeech againſt the conſpirators: But CÆSAR, tho' privately one of them, and ſufficiently ſuſpected, yet openly and eloquently defended the reſt, as if they had been only his clients, and not his partners; and by that firmneſs of mind ſav'd himſelf from the violence of CATO, and the wiles of CICERO, both join'd together to procure his ruine. Yet he was in a manner but an Apprentice in that conſpiracy of CATILINE; and ſhew'd them ſoon after how much abler he could be than all his maſters, when once he began to ſet up for himſelf; tho' with a nobler deſign, and in a more generous way; not to ruine and pillage ſuch a goodly Empire, but improve it in all things, as his more happy ſucceſſors liv'd long enough to accompliſh.

But 'tis high time for us to behold him in the field, where I know the reader expects him with impatience, becauſe that indeed was his proper ſphere; and never man had ſuch talents for it. His body, notwithſtanding the falling ſickneſs, was ſtrong and active to a wonder, fit for all the exerciſe and fatigues of war; yet unwieldly and ſluggiſh, in compariſon of his mind, which was rather what

we imagine of angelical than humane; ſuch a ſtrange quickneſs of thought and imagination, join'd with ſo piercing and profound a judgment; and both ſupported with a memory and capacity able to do all things at all times. * * * * * *

UNFINISHED.

THE

THE STORY OF HEROD AND Marc Antony,

Collected out of the Roman Hiſtorians.

THERE is a paſſage in the *Roman* Hiſtory ſo very remarkable, that it deſerves to be more particularly related, with all its circumſtances; which, being now at leiſure, I have collected out of thoſe ſeveral Authors who are reputed the moſt faithful hiſtorians of that time.

Among thoſe many, who, according to the cuſtom of the world, forſook MARC ANTONY in his declining fortune, HEROD was the moſt conſiderable; who, though King

of *Judæa* by his particular grace and favour, yet at length was forced to forſake him; but in ſuch a manner, that all the world, and even MARC ANTONY himſelf, could not but acquit him both of meanneſs and ingratitude. Which ſeems (in my opinion) the plaineſt inſtance, and the higheſt aggravation of that poor Emperor's imprudence, and infelicity; that his being abandon'd by the very beſt and moſt oblig'd of all his friends, ſhould be altogether imputed to his own ill conduct, and not to the leaſt unfaithfulneſs or ingratitude of HEROD.

HEROD was not allowed the honour of being at the famous battle of *Actium*; becauſe imployed to finiſh the conqueſt of *Arabia*, which ANTONY had privately given to CLEOPATRA, together with the reverſion of *Judæa* it ſelf, of which HEROD was then King. So that ſhe cunningly contrived to ſatisfy her ambition with engaging HEROD either to gain one Kingdom for her, or elſe to fall in the attempt, and ſo leave the other free. But HEROD was not eaſily impos'd on; and having ended the war in *Arabia* ſucceſsfully, brought all the aſſiſtance of a conqueror to ſupport, if poſſible, the falling

falling greatneſs of ANTONY. HEROD, it ſeems, had long before ſuſpected the dangerous arts of CLEOPATRA; and like a true friend, adviſ'd ANTONY againſt her, even in all the height of her favour and his paſſion. He had preſs'd him eſpecially not to carry her along with him to that unfortunate battle, as if he had foreſeen the fatal conſequence of her being there. 'Tis no wonder therefore, if he had ſome hopes of finding him more prudent at laſt by ſo ſad an experience; and accordingly made haſte to overtake him immediately after his overthrow. There he endeavour'd to raiſe the ſpirits of his drooping friend, by preſenting him frankly with all the fruits of his own ſucceſs, to ballance in ſome meaſure the misfortune of *Actium*. Men, money and proviſions of all ſorts, he ſupplies him with in abundance; but then takes ſo favourable an opportunity to give him the only advice that could ſave him, and at once revenge them both of the falſe CLEOPATRA. He makes him ſenſible that ſhe had not only been his ruine, by her extravagant flight at the battle of *Actium*; but was now contriving it with AUGUSTUS, the better to prevent her own; to whom ſhe had ſent a

truſty meſſenger (in the company of ANTONY's Ambaſſadors) who was extremely well received, while they were refus'd audience. And therefore, unleſs he were content to be deliver'd up by CLEOPATRA, there remained no other courſe to be taken but to ſeize on her, and ſecure *Ægypt* to himſelf; where he might eaſily make a ſtand, 'till he was ſufficiently recruited to renew the war. To theſe moſt convincing arguments that unfortunate General made only this reply, after a deep ſigh from his very ſoul; *I confeſs,* my friend, *'tis impoſſible to ſhew at once more friendſhip, and prudence, than appears moſt plainly in the advice you have now given me; never was a wiſer counſel, nor worſe beſtow'd; for alas, I am incapable of following it: And, to make me throughly unhappy, That love, or rather enchantment which ties me yet to* CLEOPATRA *as firmly as ever, is not enough to blind me intirely: For, I ſee, as well as you, her falſehood, and conſequently my own folly; but oh! it ſeems you do not ſee, as I do, all thoſe charms that cauſe it: In a word, I doat on her to that degree, ſhe may lead me in chains to* CÆSAR, *while I contentedly go along gazing on her beauty, and unable to loſe*

loſe the ſight of it, tho' but for a moment. HEROD amaz'd, as much as afflicted, aſked him, If it was poſſible that this could be his final reſolution? to which he anſwer'd only, That it was as unchangeable as fate; and ſo would have left him, to run immediately into the arms of CLEOPATRA. But HEROD, being a wiſe man, foreſaw now his own ruin every way; for, he was not only ſure to fall with MARC ANTONY (which yet he could have almoſt endur'd patiently for his ſake) but to fall by him alſo, in caſe ſome lucky accident of ſtate happen'd to make a turn in his affairs: For who could expect ſecrecy in ſuch a ſlave of CLEOPATRA? Or her mercy, after ANTONY had once expos'd him to it? which forc'd HEROD, in ſpite of all his friendſhip, to take this laſt farewel of his unhappy Emperor. *That little aſſiſtance which I have brought hither, I am ſo far from withdrawing again, that I would yet go back to fetch more, if I had not done already all that was poſſible for me in your ſervice: only my perſon now I ask your leave to diſpoſe of; and you may judge by this, into what a loſt condition your fatal obſtinacy has brought us both; ſince I am forced to leave a Prince I love above all men*

living, to try the good nature of one who is remarkable for wanting it, and has already vanquiſh'd us. ANTONY, as infatuated as he was, yet had generoſity enough left, to let him go and ſeek his own ſecurity, and to embrace him at parting with a great deal of tenderneſs; perhaps having a ſecret ſatisfaction in being unloaded of ſuch a friend, who was too true a counſellor not to be ſometimes troubleſome. HEROD went immediately to *Rhodes*, and preſented himſelf on a ſudden before AUGUSTUS CÆSAR. His Diadem indeed was off, but he took care to carry with him all the other marks of regal dignity, with which he appeared rather awful, than ſubmiſſive; and ſeem'd more to offer friendſhip, than to implore favour. Then, after having owned all he had already, and would ſtill have done for ANTONY, if his paſſion for CLEOPATRA would have ſuffer'd him to accept his aſſiſtance; he at length broke out into this expreſſion. *Think not, oh* OCTAVIUS! *that I quitted* MARC ANTONY, *either out of my own inconſtancy, or for that of fortune, which has of late forſaken him. If he would now at laſt have follow'd my advice, I had freely ventured in his preſervation a Kingdom, which*

which I muſt acknowledge I owe only to his generoſity, and a life, that can never be laid down better than in his ſervice. But ſince I had not credit enough with that unhappy Man to perſuade him to ſave himſelf, I thought it but a fooliſh part to ſink with any perſon who was bent on his own deſtruction; and to remain in a Court, where ANTONY *was ſo much a ſlave to* CLEOPATRA, *that it was impoſſible for me to eſcape, after the faithful advice I had given againſt her. And now here I ſtand as much his friend as ever, in my inclinations and wiſhes, unleſs you eſteem me worthy of being yours; which if you do, I think by all the rules of honour and of gratitude, I am free to follow your fortunes, as heartily as I was before engag'd in his, and am reſolv'd to obſerve the ſame fidelity.* AUGUSTUS, who was an admirable judge of all things, embrac'd him with a great deal of reſpect, and eſteem'd him the more for ſo frank a way of proceeding; he procur'd of the Senate to have his Kingdom of *Judæa* confirm'd to him, added to it that of ZENODORUS, and made him his friend ever after.

THIS HEROD was that King of *Judæa* who was counted ſo cruel, and not without

out cauſe, eſpecially to his own family, whom it ſeems he was exceſſively jealous of; which gave occaſion for that ſharp ſaying of AUGUSTUS, (notwithſtanding their reconcilement,) *That he had rather be* HEROD's *Sow than his Son.* But yet he wanted not ſome good qualities to balance his vices, and which juſtly gave him the denomination of HEROD *the Great:* Whoſe whole proceeding in this matter is the more imitable; becauſe it was univerſally eſteem'd in an age, and by a people, the moſt ſenſible of honour that ever any have been known, within the memory of man.

OBSER-

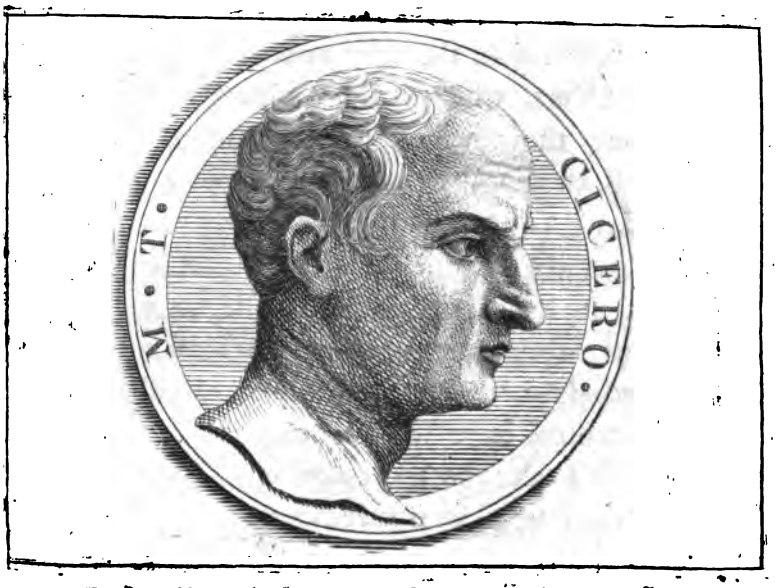
OBSERVATIONS
ON THE
FIRST BOOK
OF
TULLY'S
Epiſtles to Atticus.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THIS is a ſhort Comment on ſome few paſſages in TULLY's *Letters to* ATTICUS, *wherein Monſieur* DE St. REAL *(the beſt of all the Commentators) is either ſilent, or elſe in my opinion a little miſtaken; as who is not ſometimes?*

BEING at leiſure of late, I have amuſed my ſelf on this ſubject, becauſe I think theſe Letters one of the moſt valuable Pieces of all Antiquity both for uſe and entertainment; inlarging as well as inſtructing our minds ſtill more, every time we read them; ſhining with new beauties and giving clearer light towards managing the moſt important affairs.

I muſt take Notice of a ſlight touch here and there, in my Notes, on the common Topick of Marriage; which is only to be underſtood generally, ſince I am ſufficiently ſatisfied by a moſt comfortable experience that all ſuch general rules admit of particular exceptions.



OBSERVATIONS on TULLY'S Letters to ATTICUS.

LETTER I.

This was the Fifth Letter in ſome Editions, but miſplaced.

I.

QUANTUM *dolorem*, &c. This very firſt expreſſion in TULLY's firſt Letter to ATTICUS, is almoſt ſufficient to recommend all that follows. For 'tis not a meer Affectation of good nature; (ſuch as we

may obſerve in the way and words of ſome diſſemblers, who yet ſhine with it extremely among thoſe who cannot diſtinguiſh;) but this is an appeal to a wiſe and old acquaintance; "You who know me ſo very well (ſays "CICERO) cannot doubt of my tenderneſs "at the loſs of my kinſman." If we had not ſtill remaining a great many other inſtances of his good nature; yet this ſingle expreſſion of his, would have left us ſome idea of it. Which I take the more notice of, becauſe he was the ſharpeſt ill-natured Orator in all *Rome*, againſt thoſe who indangered her Liberty: That eager inveteracy in behalf of his native Country, was it ſeems no way inconſiſtent with the moſt gentle and affable temper we know of, among all the *Romans*.

THAT which follows in this Letter, ſhews he did not bewail his loſs without cauſe; for he gives his kinſman in a few words the fineſt character imaginable. "Agreeable in con-"verſation, and uſeful both in publick and "private affairs." Such an unaffected commendation from ſo great a judge, is more valuable than a hundred monuments and panegyricks.

II.

II.

QUOD *ad me ſcribis de ſorore*, &c. This is another inſtance of his good diſpoſition, in taking ſuch pains to diſſuade a married couple from living together uneaſily; a buſineſs hard enough to bring about with all his eloquence. Yet I ſhould not have taken notice of it, but for his great politeneſs in the way of ſuch an interpoſition: mixing the authority of an elder brother, the head of his houſe, with the freedom of a familiar and affectionate friend. For 'tis no eaſy matter in the exerciſe of authority, to be neither remiſs, nor haughtily imperious.

III.

QUOD *ſcribis, etiam ſi*, &c. This reconcilement which TULLY was to make between ATTICUS and LUCCEIUS (for that we find afterward to be his name) is mightily taken notice of in a little *French* book call'd CESARION: wherein the author, tho' very wittily, ſeems a little over-fond of a paradox he maintains againſt the celebrated character of ATTICUS; of whoſe failings in friendſhip he quotes this very quarrel for one inſtance, yet without underſtanding what was the occaſion

caſion of it. 'Tis a little odd too in that author, to conclude ATTICUS guilty of breach of friendſhip, only becauſe earneſt to renew it; and LUCCEIUS innocent, becauſe implacable. And, ſince that Gentleman affects ſingularity in his diſcourſes, I think he could hardly have ſhewn a plainer inſtance of it. I cannot but take notice of one expreſſion in ATTICUS's Letter, which CICERO repeats in this; "You write (ſays he) that if any body "be your enemy, 'tis my buſineſs to appeaſe "him." Friendſhip muſt have run pretty high in an age when ſuch an expreſſion was proper: and the moſt accompliſh'd Gentleman of all *Rome* would hardly have uſed it to one of the greateſt, if his own heart and active affection had not been warm enough to warrant ſuch an expectation of a ſuitable return. Which he met with accordingly; ſince CICERO here owns the right of ſervice he claims of him; and ſeveral letters ſhew his punctual performance of it, tho' unſucceſsfully. For it ſeems it was eaſier for CICERO to perſuade whole Senates and popular Aſſemblies, than one obſtinate, though moſt eſtimable perſon, as LUCCEIUS appears to be in all the accounts we have of him. Which is leſs to be wondred at, becauſe thoſe are two very

very different Talents, publick eloquence, and private inſinuation.

IV.

Ex *omnibus moleſtiis*, &c. This ſeems to me a little ſtrange in TULLY, the moſt eaſy-humoured, and facetious man in the world; whoſe very great genius was ſo fit alſo for buſineſs, that methinks he ſhould not be ſo tired with it, as never to be at eaſe except in his Library. Yet juſt at that time perhaps ſome unuſual affairs crouded upon him, of no great moment to the publick; for had that been concern'd, I am confident he would never have grudg'd his pains, but made it rather his greateſt pleaſure. I impute all this complaint to his uſual good breeding in making that an excuſe, for thoſe many repeated troubles he gave ATTICUS about trifles towards adorning his Library; which therefore he profeſſes here to be his only ſatisfaction. If it be objected that an excuſe has an air of ceremony, which is not only formal, but faulty among friends: it may be obſerv'd, he makes no difficulty of imploying ATTICUS often on this occaſion, and only ſhews a little politeneſs in pretending it was now grown his only ſatisfaction; that ſo his

friend might have the more, in gratifying that humour.

V.

CUJUS *ſermonis genus*, &c. This impertinent converſation of ACUTILIUS puts us in mind of a great many, who, though far from being ſilly in managing their own private affairs, are yet in converſation worſe to be endur'd than an ordinary Fit of the cholick: Accordingly CICERO puts it down here pleaſantly, as the greateſt uneaſineſs his friendſhip had ever made him undergo, to have been ſo long in ſuch tedious company upon his account.

LETTER II.

In ſome Editions this was the Sixth, but miſtaken.

QUID *agas*, &c. This is one of the pleaſures, as well as privileges of friendſhip. *Rome* was the place in all the world of the greateſt affairs, and of the moſt entertainment: TULLY was one of the buſieſt men in it; yet amidſt all this, he inquires with

with earneſtneſs about every little thing his friend not only does, but thinks, and intends to do. Though I am apt to believe there was ſomething of his own natural vivacity in the caſe; whoſe active mind, and capaciouſneſs of thought, the whole Empire of *Rome* was ſcarce large enough to imploy ſufficiently: So vaſt a thing is the mind of ſome men. Which I ſay not altogether by way of commendation, but of admiration rather; for wherever it is ſuch, there appears ſomething of rambling, as well as reaſoning, in ſo great a genius.

LETTER III.

In ſome Editions this was made a Part of the laſt Letter, I ſuppoſe for its ſhortneſs only; ſince it is plainly a different Letter.

OMNEM *ſpem delectationis*, &c. Here he repeats again his great expectation of pleaſure in the Library he was now contriving; which I ſhould not take notice of, but upon account of that time of life for which he deſign'd it, *Cum in otium venerimus*; This is one ſign how much CICERO

was fitted by nature, for learning, as well as publick buſineſs; becauſe he ſeems ever preparing himſelf to retire out of it; and as capable in his cloſet to divert himſelf, or inſtruct the world, as he was in the *Forum* or Senate-houſe to govern it. This is no ſmall advantage in Republicks, where a ſort of rotation is neceſſary, by which men are ſeen under ſeveral capacities, and much better judg'd of in ſuch different lights, than in a Monarchy; where one man chuſes either among thoſe few commended to him by their friends, or among others diſguiſed always by their own inſinuations and flattery.

LETTER IV.

HERMÆ *tui pentelici*, &c. I am heartily glad to find this fondneſs of Statues, *&c.* in ſuch a man as CICERO; though I am not ſurprized at it, becauſe I ſcarce ever knew or read of any great genius inſenſible of ſuch things: For indeed they have a real value in themſelves, and not only (as ſome imagine) in the fancy of Virtuoſoes.

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LETTER V.

I.

NIMIUM *raro nobis*, &c. On this occaſion the ingenious Author of the beſt notes upon theſe Letters, admires very juſtly at the want of *Poſts* in ſuch an Empire as the *Roman*; eſpecially conſidering that CYRUS had in ſome meaſure eſtabliſhed them above four hundred years before. But I cannot underſtand how theſe words ſhew any ſuch deficiency; becauſe a Poſt-office had been of no uſe to ſo important a correſpondence as this, which certainly deſerved the care of particular expreſſes, and all the ſecrecy imaginable. A method eaſier among them, by reaſon of their multitude of ſlaves, ready, and generally very faithful on all occaſions.

II.

ET *Arcæ noſtræ confidito*, &c. Here TULLY is ſo wiſe, as not to ſpare his purſe for his pleaſure; and ſeems overjoyed to feel a new taſte of Statues and ſuch curioſities coming upon him: Knowing a freſh appe-

tite, at his Age, to be the moſt deſirable jewel that a rich man can poſſibly purchaſe.

LETTER VI.

From Tuſculum, CICERO*'s Country-houſe, to* ATTICUS *at* Athens.

CUM *eſſem in Ceramico*, &c. Here is a ſmall touch of that agreeable raillery, in which the *Romans*, and among them our author moſt particularly excelled. ATTICUS, it ſeems, had dated his laſt Letter from a famous place in *Greece*; CICERO therefore, who could not in this anſwer to it affix ſo ſtately a name on the top, and yet had the vanity (which was his Foible) to be willingly out-done by no-body; falls a raillying of him in revenge, as if he ſuppoſed ATTICUS had affected to write from ſuch a celebrated city; and ſo as formally dates his Letter in this manner, *From* Tuſculum, CICERO*'s Country Seat, to* ATTICUS *at* Athens. Theſe two places are now indeed almoſt equally famous on account of CICERO, and on the ſame account of having been once inhabited by the nobleſt defenders of Liberty, in the

two

two moſt glorious Commonwealths that ever were.

II.

MAGNOPERE *confido illum,* &c. This is an inſtance of that human frailty, which bears ſo great a part in the very wiſeſt minds. Here CICERO undertakes the reconcilement of LUCCEIUS to his beloved ATTICUS, with all the alacrity and ardour of a true and an induſtrious friend: But at the ſame time ſhews too great a confidence in himſelf of the ſucceſs (as indeed vanity was his only Foible) not conſidering, that Eloquence is more capable of turning a whole aſſembly of Senators, than of convincing one angry or obſtinate perſon. And accordingly it prov'd ſo in this caſe. For, beſides that TULLY's way of reaſoning was rather agreeable and florid, than ſtrong and nervous; no man accuſtomed to great aſſemblies, finds his imagination ſo lively, or his underſtanding ſo large in any dry converſation of buſineſs, as when warm'd in publick with hopes of applauſe, and of ſerving his Country; in both which CICERO uſed to ſucceed ſo glorioufly. I have often obſerv'd this difference at Committees of Parliament, and Cabinet-Councils;

Councils; where men would ſpeak well, and even with warmth ſometimes; but ſeldom with ſo much force and eloquence, as in a full Houſe of Parliament.

III.

SIGNA *noſtra*, &c. He had owned in a former Letter, how much Statues and ſuch curioſities for ſetting off his Library, were become his principal inclination: and it appears plainly by ſo many unneceſſary repetitions of it. Which I take notice of, only as a warning to my ſelf and others, that we may be ſo watchful over our eagerneſs and impatience, as never to let it trouble our friends, though perhaps we cannot help being unquiet with it our ſelves.

IV.

NON *minimum quod ſoror prægnans eſt.* I wonder he mentions his Siſter-in-law's being with child, as no little proof of his brother's kindneſs; which yet ſure is none of the greateſt, unleſs TULLY thought it hard to lie with a man's own wife, as perhaps he found it with TERENTIA.

V.

V.

DE *comitiis meis*, &c. Here is, in one inſtance, more good nature, and good breeding, (two of the beſt qualities any man can have) than now appears in a whole age among us; and therefore it deſerves a little explanation. CICERO had a pretenſion to the Pretorſhip, in which nothing could be more uſeful than ATTICUS's preſence at *Rome*, one of the moſt conſiderable and popular men in it. Yet TULLY not only, to prevent his trouble in making ſuch a journey, diſpenſes with his abſence, but furniſhes him with the beſt excuſes in the world for it. "Becauſe (ſays he) I am more concern'd in "whatever you are tranſacting of greater "importance for your ſelf at *Athens*, than "for any affairs of my own in *Rome*." And what is yet more than this, becauſe CICERO knew the niceneſs of his temper, which would not hazard the being reproached for neglecting his friend at ſuch a time; he not only very poſitively forbids him to take the journey, but aſſures him all their friends ſhall know as much; that in caſe he loſe the Pretorſhip by his abſence, the blame may only fall upon himſelf for it. I know not how

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the reader will be affected at this, but I want words to expreſs my own ſenſe of ſo friendly and ſo noble a proceeding: and that which heightens it, is the wonderful ambition among the *Romans* of arriving early at theſe great imployments, ſo as ſometimes to kill themſelves upon having failed of their pretenſion; add alſo the particular eagerneſs of TULLY's humour for all things he deſired, (as we ſaw juſt now) but eſpecially for honours and preferments, even to exceſs. Yet how frankly, how generouſly does he ſacrifice all this, only to eaſe his friend of a troubleſome journey! Such a man was CICERO; and ſuch a place was *Rome*, which had many CICEROES! Men not only like him, but even above him with all his parts and politeneſs. And yet we have the farce ſometimes of hearing ignorant wretches, eſpecially the *French*, undervalue both *Greeks* and *Romans*, in compariſon with themſelves.

LETTER VII.

I.

VERUM *ne cauſam quidem*, &c. It ſeems this quarrel between ATTICUS and LUCCEIUS (for that appears to be his

name) was very hearty on one ſide; for nothing ſhews that more than ſuch an obſtinate denial to declare the true cauſe of it; tho' 'tis alſo a ſign of being implacable, and revengeful. In which I differ with the Abbot of ST. REAL, who, after affirming rightly that, *Les plus grands & les plus ſenſibles ſujets de plainte ſe diſent le moins*, is yet methinks a little miſtaken in judging ſuch a ſullen ſilence reaſonable, notwithſtanding all interpoſition of friends. But I ſee, no ſort of good fortune is without allay; for ATTICUS, ſo particularly famous for living not only inoffenſively, but almoſt friendlily with all Men; has yet ſome way or other provoked two implacable enemies, this LUCCEIUS of old, and our ingenious Abbot now; who, beſides his notes on theſe Letters between ATTICUS and CICERO, has in a little book called *Cæſarion*, uſed the firſt of them almoſt as unmercifully as ANTONY did the other: So that I am confident if our Author had lived in thoſe times, and if private combats had been then in faſhion, (which are two *If's*, I confeſs, as far fetch'd as ſome of his reflections) he would have been LUCCEIUS's ſecond, and perhaps have fought a duel with CICERO.

II.

II.

SUMMUM *me eorum ſtudium tenet*, &c. There can hardly be a greater proof than this of the raviſhing delights of Learning. That ſuch a man as CICERO, whoſe agreeable ſort of wit ſo fitted him for the pleaſures of converſation, and whoſe great talents help'd him to all the ſatisfaction his ambitious humour was capable of; yet to his intimate friend he makes a ſolemn proteſtation of being no where ſo well pleas'd as among his Books and Papers. But, to his immortal honour, it ought to be obſerved alſo, that, notwithſtanding all his inclination to Philoſophy, and ability of inſtructing the world that way, yet he always prefer'd doing well, to writing well, and ſacrificed his own humour [the moſt difficult ſelf-denial, becauſe a continual one] to the publick ſervice, and the ſafety of his country: For which his great concern at this time, ſeeing affairs ſo ill managed, drew from him this expreſſion of fondneſs for his Library, that now afforded him his only conſolation.

LET-

LETTER VIII.

AVIAM *tuam*, &c. I hope this Grandmother of ATTICUS was ſome impertinent old Dotard; for otherwiſe, CICERO acquaints him with her death methinks a little too ſlightingly. But his raillery upon her Bigotry does ſomething excuſe it ſelf, by mentioning ſo good a reaſon for his undervaluing her, and even jeſting on her death. Which I can never impute to the manners of thoſe times, as ST. REAL does; becauſe I ſhould think their being more refin'd than we are, ſhould rather incline them to more good nature, and greater reſpect to Parents. I muſt differ alſo with him again about the conſolatory Letter which CICERO jeſtingly ſuppoſes that SAUFEIUS (an *Epicurean* friend of theirs) would write to ATTICUS on this occaſion. SAUFEIUS (ſays he) believing death to be no harm, nor any thing after it, was found out pleaſantly by CICERO for that condoling office, as one who could be troubled at nothing; if that had been TULLY's meaning, he would rather have choſen ſome *Stoick* for the purpoſe; whereas the *Epicu-*

reans, tho' turning every ill accident to the beſt uſe (as all wiſe men do) yet own'd a tender ſenſe of both pain and pleaſure; ſo that I fancy rather he pick'd him out for his ſoftneſs; which, ſhewn on this occaſion, would have appear'd indeed ſufficiently ridiculous. After all, this is but gueſſing at random; and I ſhould be loth to be earneſt in trifles, or wrangle about the meaning of a Letter written ſeventeen hundred years ago; as our Criticks ſometimes do with the ſame concern as if it were about the words of a *Will*, on which their whole eſtates depended.

LETTER IX.

I.

NOS *hic incredibilis*, &c. Here appears a right diſpoſition of mind for a perſon in publick buſineſs: To regard in the firſt place the doing of juſtice, and yet to enjoy very great ſatisfaction in that applauſe which attends it; For ſure it is allowable in Morality, as well as Divinity, to look up to the rewards expected. The truth is, the love of Vertue and of Fame moſt commonly go together:

gether; and no doubt are made to do ſo for encouragement to Vertue, by the wiſdom of that Being which has contrived all things.

II.

QUOD *ad me de Hermathena ſcribis*, &c. 'Tis impoſſible to ſhew more eager fondneſs for Statues and Books, than appears every where in theſe Letters: Though perhaps the firſt was principally for the ſake of the laſt, ſince they were to ſtand in his Library; a place to which he had ſo violent an inclination, as to make him mention it always in the hyperbolical ſtyle of a very Lover.

LETTER X.

ABS *te peto ut mihi hoc ignoſcas*, &c. Here he puts gratitude (and I love him for it) as the beſt reaſon in the world for refuſing any body, and indeed for doing any thing. But when he mentions ambition as another excuſe, methinks he needed a much greater apology, and to uſe all his rhetorick for denying ſo faithful a friend.

LETTER *to* POMPEY.

NULLA *enim re tam lætari ſoleo*, &c. CICERO here appears ſuch an honeſt man, and of ſo noble a nature, that 'tis impoſſible not to be touched with it. A good action, ſays he, rewards itſelf, and all your ingratitude cannot make me the leaſt repent of it, or deprive me of a very great ſatisfaction in having done my part of friendſhip, even at this time while I am thus reproaching the failure of yours.

IF I wou'd ſtrain ſome excuſe for being ungrateful (of which it ſtands ſufficiently in need) it ſhou'd be this great ſatisfaction of mind in doing any generous well-natur'd action; the pleaſure of which pays itſelf abundantly, without needing any reward or return. Here alſo, TULLY ſhews himſelf a maſter in the myſtery of politicks, by warning POMPEY againſt courting his enemies, inſtead of indulging his friends; which is the way only to be deſpiſed by both: The quite contrary practice being the ſureſt means both of riſing high, and ſtanding firm.

LET-

LETTER *to* METELLUS CELER.

EGO *dolori tuo non ſolum ignoſco*, &c. I know not what effect it will have on others, but I am enamour'd of this candid temper of CICERO, in not only pardoning the unreaſonable anger of METELLUS, in behalf of his brother; but confeſſing what a ſoftneſs he felt to his near relations on the like occaſions; and how much that experience inclined him to allow it the better in another man, though now it happened to be againſt himſelf. What gentleneſs! what prudence! how juſt an indulgence to the weakneſs of human nature.

LETTER XIII.

CONSUL *autem ipſe*, &c. An admirable picture in a few words! Perhaps as ſharp a cenſure as was ever written, and deſerving a very particular notice, by all lovers of either Eloquence or Satire.

TANTUM *quod ea emptione*, &c. Upon this occaſion there is no denying that TULLY

once broke the Law, in borrowing money of a criminal he defended, in order to finiſh a great houſe he was building: I am heartily ſorry for it, and would give money to be able to defend him. I can only excuſe him a little, by remarking, that it was not by a thouſand parts ſo bad an action, as if he had for lucre accuſed an innocent; and hope for his ſake, that the temptation did not lie in the money, but only in his great impatience for building; being the moſt eager man in the world for any thing of that kind.

LETTER XIV.

EGO *autem ipſe, Dii boni!* &c. Once for all, this conſtant appearance of vanity in ſo great and wiſe a man, deſerves ſome particular reflection, a little beyond the vulgar manner of commentators: It having been always made ſo great an objection to that excellent perſon, the rather I believe, becauſe indeed they cou'd find no other to make. Firſt, nothing is more plain and reaſonable in judging of the antients, than to make allowance both for times and

places:

places: without which, how extravagant will CATO ſeem, in making no more of lending his wife, than we do now-a-days in ſparing a friend ſome rare ambler for a journey of pleaſure. Nay, what ſhall we think of the two wives of JACOB, for kindly affording him a couple of handſome Handmaids? The *Romans* were naturally extremely vain-glorious, and politickly encouraged that humour in every body, as being a conſtant inciter to virtue, and all ſorts of noble actions. Religion alſo was concern'd in it; ſince fame and reputation cannot but imply a future ſtate; the preſent here being of too ſmall extent to be temptation enough for venturing all things to acquire it; eſpecially in loſing even Life itſelf ſo frankly, without a firm belief of having amends made them hereafter, in that to come.

AFTER all, no man can be further than I am from making this the leaſt excuſe for vanity now-a-days; for in behalf of TULLY himſelf, I can find none ſufficient, except from the age and country he liv'd in. In ours, I believe, there is nothing will more keep down a man's reputation than his own eagerneſs, and therefore ſillineſs, in openly

taking notice of it. But the circumſtances were otherwiſe with CICERO; who yet ſometimes cou'd not hold from rallying himſelf about it. All this while too, I have ſaid nothing of his being unable with all his Eloquence, to ſpeak greater things of himſelf, than Hiſtory ſpeaks of him, and than all his Writings ſpeak for him.

Left Unfiniſhed.

THE

THE LETTER OF EPICURUS TO MENECEUS.

THE youngeſt perſons ſhould not defer reflecting on vertue and morality, nor the oldeſt give over weary of it; for who is either too young, or too old, to keep his mind as eaſy as 'tis poſſible? Youth will by practice of this grow wiſer and happier every day; and old age itſelf may, by ſuch a help, enjoy over-again in ſome meaſure the ſoft hours of youth; by avoiding all anxious thoughts, not only of the future, but the preſent. Apply your ſelf therefore, oh MENECEUS, to follow my advice, with an aſſurance that all theſe things are the very principles of happineſs.

BELIEVING then, firſt, that GOD or the original cauſe of all things, is ſomething immortal and happy, which the light of nature informs us; be tender of attributing with the vulgar, to that glorious Being, any thing that is in the leaſt repugnant to its divine nature.

THERE are alſo other inviſible ſubſtances; but not ſuch as men imagine to themſelves, and deſcribe yet otherwiſe than they imagine, when they preach about it. He therefore who denies the common opinions of the people, is not impious; but he who maintains them: for ſuch idle notions come not from the light of reaſon, but from meer fear and fancy. They believe rightly, that the Gods puniſh the wicked and reward the good; but then 'tis only becauſe they themſelves wou'd do ſo, and therefore they think thoſe ſuperior Beings of juſt the ſame humour; by which ſcanty meaſure they judge of all things.

ACCUSTOM yourſelf to think death of no concern to us, ſince all pleaſure and pain depends on our ſenſes, and death is nothing but an utter deprivation of them all.

A firm Aſſurance that death is nothing more, is the only way to make life eaſy; without vain hopes on one hand, or anxious

fears

fears on the other. While we are alive, death is abſent; and when death comes, we are ſo: Therefore, ſince it does no harm, who but a fool wou'd fear it? Even life is good, not according to its length, but as we paſs it in quiet and ſatisfaction.

'Tis equally needleſs to adviſe the young to live, or the old to die; for as Life is amiable to the one, death is as neceſſary to the other, and the reaſon is the ſame for both. Whoever talks of wiſhing not to have been born, is ridiculous; becauſe, if in earneſt, why does he not kill himſelf? and, if in jeſt, none but a fool would make that a laughing matter.

We ought to think the future ſo much ours only, as that it may come; but not depend on it, as if it muſt do ſo.

We all have deſires, of which ſome are natural and uſeful; others are not ſo; of the natural, ſome are more neceſſary than others: The neceſſary are partly for life itſelf; and the reſt, for the eaſe and pleaſure of it. The plain knowledge of this will make us ſee what we ought to follow, or avoid, either for health of body, or repoſe of mind; which two things compleat our happineſs. The attaining of theſe is all we have to do; for Pleaſure is only the ſenſe of ſupplying ſome

want; and therefore when we feel none of any kind, there is nothing to wish, or desire.

THIS is the reason of our maintaining Pleasure to be the only principle of Happiness; because every body feels 'tis the first gift of nature, at our coming into the world; as 'tis the last with which we go out of it. It must certainly be the measure of all good; and if we sometimes chuse pain, or trouble before it, 'tis always in order to some greater satisfaction afterward: Therefore all pleasure is not so good, as that we should blindly abandon ourselves to it, no more than always avoid trouble; but only weigh both, and on occasion serve ourselves of either.

I count temperance and self-denial a great vertue; not that we should generally practise it; but only sometimes, that we may the better endure any want which may happen to us, As none act well in great stations, but such as value them but a little.

WE must know also, that whatever is necessary to our nature, is to be had easily; and what is difficult to come by, may as easily be spared. The coarsest fare will give full pleasure to a man who is hungry; and since only bread and water will delight in necessity, 'tis good to fast often; for abstinence

is

is the great preſerver of health and vigour; beſides that it makes us much more ſenſible of delicacies.

BY this time it is plain enough, that when I eſtabliſh pleaſures as our chiefeſt good, I am far from meaning thoſe only of the lazy and luxurious, who look no farther than ſenſual ones: And yet the ignorant are apt to miſinterpret us. All my aim is, with the utmoſt art and care, to avoid uneaſineſs either of mind or body. 'Tis not pleaſures and diverſions, delicacies of diet or other things, nor even the joys of women, that can make a Life intirely happy, tho' ſome of theſe may be good ingredients to it; but only good ſenſe and temperance, with a rational inquiry into the nature of things, ſo as to be throughly diſengag'd from all thoſe vulgar errors which ſo much diſquiet the greateſt part of mankind.

THE principle of all theſe things, and therefore our ſovereign good, is nothing but Prudence; which accordingly deſerves to be valu'd above all Learning and Philoſophy; becauſe all other vertues proceed from this vertue alone, which firſt convinces us that we ought to deſire the reſt, and then aſſiſts us in the obtaining them.

PRU-

PRUDENCE ſhews us there is no living comfortably, without obſerving juſtice and honour in all our actions: And thus vertue and pleaſure do not only conſiſt together, but are indeed inſeparable.

THESE things ſuppoſed, what man can go higher than he, who has reverend thoughts of the ſupreme Cauſe? is without apprehenſion either of death, or of what comes after it? who underſtands ſo well the nature of man, and his chief felicity, as to believe it eaſily attainable; and that all pain is either ſhort, or to be indured with patience: ſo finds to his comfort, that not a fatal neceſſity, (the melancholy doctrine of the Stoicks) but his own free-will, is the only power on which his happineſs depends; and therefore, ſince left to himſelf, his good actions will deſerve praiſe, and his ill ones no excuſe. For 'tis ſafer to go along with the crowd in all their ſuperſtitions, than inſlave one's ſelf to that tyrant, Deſtiny; becauſe the firſt, as fooliſh as it is, will only miſlead us ſometimes with vain hopes of favour from the Deity, in return of our obſequious applications to him; but the other is inflexible and inexorable.

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HOWEVER, take care of falling into the contrary extream, by making fortune a deity, as the fooliſh people fancy; for divine power does nothing irregular, or inconſtantly. But prefer the greateſt misfortune undeſerved, to any advantage whatſoever that comes by injuſtice.

REFLECT then on theſe things night and day; alone, and in company of the ſame diſpoſition; ſo, whether you ſleep or wake, all will go eaſy (for even dreams partake of our daily amuſements, and depend on temper) and you will live among men almoſt like a better ſort of being: for he that paſſes his life in poſſeſſion of theſe divine truths, with intire felicity, is ſcarce to be reckoned a humane creature.

ESSAYS.

ON

FRIENDSHIP.

I AM apt to think Friendſhip a kind of Science; not that inclination is unneceſſary in the caſe, but 'tis as neceſſary to cultivate it with a great deal of care. That which confirms me in the opinion of its being a Science, is my obſerving it to be almoſt abſolutely loſt, there remaining hardly a ſhadow of it now-a-days: for ſure Nature would not decay, but is much the ſame in all ages.

MY Lord Chancellor BACON obſerves very juſtly, that we now ſee nothing of it between Equals; and only a little of it ſometimes where the different degrees of men render each of them uſeful and neceſſary to the other: As between a wealthy country-gentleman and his led-captain, or rather his fellow-drunkard; between a great courtier and one of his dependant flatterers; whereas inequality is quite contrary to the very na-

ture of Friendſhip, which like Love, either finds people equal, or makes them ſo.

THEREFORE as that advice is now-a-days thought very wiſe, of truſting friends with ſuch a reſerve as may preſerve us from them, when turn'd enemies; 'tis only becauſe we ſuppoſe no real friends in ſo corrupt an age: for with true friendſhip that doctrine is inconſiſtent. And indeed (comparing the very beſt ſort now, with both the precepts and examples of former times) Friendſhip is not the ſame thing which CICERO, and even MONTAGN ſo lately deſcribe it; and whatever the firſt of thoſe was, the latter is certainly a moſt ſincere writer: For a judicious reader may be as ſure of MONTAGN's ſincerity, as skilful artiſts are of a picture's being done by the Life, when there are ſuch natural and lively touches in it, as no man's fancy in the world can reach. But to return to friendſhip, I cannot preſume to adviſe any thing; but out of ſome experience I have had in Courts, I think it ſafer to depend on thoſe who have oblig'd us, than on thoſe whom we have oblig'd, though never ſo much.

WHENCE ſhou'd this ſtrange paradox proceed? If it were not too common every day, an ungrateful perſon wou'd appear a greater

greater monſter, than any man with three legs or four hands.

THIS ſure, like moſt other faults of human nature, proceeds from Pride, which makes us aſham'd of our debts even to friends, and ſhun the very remembrance: It makes indeed a little amends, by inciting us to oblige people ſometimes, only that they may be in our debt; for I am confident, that of ten courteſies now received, there are ſcarce two beſtowed out of meer good nature or friendſhip: and to ſay truth, they are moſt commonly returned accordingly. Yet that is but an ill excuſe for ingratitude, which indeed admits of none: For by this argument, a Son would owe nothing to his Father, becauſe he begot him only for his pleaſure, and the child came out by the bye: there would be yet a greater pleaſure in unbegetting ſuch a Son, if poſſible.

ONE of the reaſons why our Tragedies now are ſo little to be valued in compariſon with thoſe of the Ancients, is our changing this noble and almoſt divine ſubject of Friendſhip for ſoft effeminate Love-matters: For though Love and Friendſhip are equally tender and touching, yet the former of theſe is

not ſo heroick, or ſo capable of great thoughts and actions.

To conclude: The Friendſhip we read of in former ages, was a noble union of two worthy perſons ſtriving to out-do each other in all kind of good offices, without the leaſt interruption to the very cloſe of their lives, which therefore always end with honour and reputation.

ON

ON PHILOSOPHY.

NO body has more veneration than my ſelf for the old Philoſophers: I believe human Wit is incapable of reaching higher than PYTHAGORAS, DEMOCRITUS, PLATO, and ARISTOTLE, or even GASSENDUS and DESCARTES in our days: and therefore 'tis great pity they aim'd at ſuch ſort of things as are never to be reached. SOCRATES therefore ſeems the wiſeſt of them all, not purely on account of his modeſty, but becauſe he apply'd himſelf only to Morality, certainly the moſt uſeful of all ſtudies: whereas the ſpeculations of the reſt, though never ſo ingeniouſly imagin'd or agreeably expreſs'd, are yet little better in reality than meer Romances, finely contrived and made to cohere well together, mixed

with a vaſt deal of wit and fancy. But oh, how deſpicable is the folly of mankind, if this be all the wiſdom of it! If PLATO and ARISTOTLE were no wiſer than to fix and imploy their minds on empty fancies, what ſilly creatures are the common ſort of men? If thoſe of the greateſt wit and judgment imaginable could ſpend all their time in gravely conſidering if the world had a beginning or not; and if it had, whether it came from accident or providence; and write whole books on ſuch ſort of ſubjects: 'tis a manifeſt proof, that the very beſt a man is able to do is only *inſanire cum ratione*. All theſe inquiries, though made by the ableſt Philoſophers, are juſt as if a man, who cannot read a word without ſpectacles, ſhould yet pretend without them to ſee, and ſhew us what they are doing in the Moon.

YET, I will allow ſuch high ſpeculations are pretty ſubjects for our thoughts and fancies, and to improve them alſo; as boys throwing ſtones at birds, will ſtrengthen their arms though they never hit any.

ALL this conſider'd; methinks, of the ſeveral Philoſophers, the *Scepticks* appear the moſt reaſonable, becauſe the leaſt poſitive: As at *Bedlam*, among ſuch a variety of

of humours, if we ſaw one of them chide the reſt for being ſo noiſy and violent, ſuſpecting their infirmity as well as his own; ſhould we not think him much the beſt of them, and rather too ſober for the reſt of his companions? The *Dogmatiſts* object to this, that even *Scepticks* are as poſitive in denying the knowledge of things, as others are in the maintaining it. But I think they do them wrong; for the *Scepticks* only remain in doubt of all things, which they find themſelves and all mankind beſides unable to comprehend.

THE truth of the matter is; all this weakneſs even of thoſe wiſeſt men proceeds from the vanity of believing human nature capable of underſtanding all things: And becauſe a Man has that troubleſome faculty of amuſing, and even tormenting himſelf ſometimes with thoughts of a thouſand matters which he has nothing to do with; he is preſently apt to believe them all within his comprehenſion. Whereas a man is no more a creature fit to find out ſuch abſtruſe matters, than a fiſh is made to play a game at bowles. Yet I would not be underſtood to diſcourage, or the leaſt undervalue Learning, where it tends to any manner of uſefulneſs: only to bridle

a little that arrogant humour of imagining our ſelves capable of knowing the greateſt matters, when all the while we ſcarce underſtand the very ſmalleſt.

ON

ON

VANITY.

I AM endeavouring on all occaſions that happen in converſation, to depreſs that fooliſh pride of human nature, which makes us ſo apt to over-value our ſelves, as well as to deſpiſe all other creatures: And I grow from every diſpute more confirm'd in my own opinion, by the ignorance and conceitedneſs I meet with in thoſe who contradict it.

IF we could imagine a pack of hounds extremely deſpiſing the huntſmen, and firmly believing all that noiſe and clutter was only intended by providence to make ſport for a few dogs; the men (I ſuppoſe) would think them as ridiculous animals, as I do now the huntſmen for the ſame reaſon. Therefore, in my opinion, none of their old definitions of a rational animal, or a laughing animal, expreſſes the peculiar nature of man half ſo rightly, as that of a vain animal. For though moſt

moſt deſpicable creatures our ſelves, yet we go ſtalking up and down deſpiſing all the creation beſides, and fancy it was made only for our ſakes: which is a ſottiſh ſort of arrogance, that no other creature in the world beſides appears to be guilty of.

YET while I thus blame others, it occurs to my memory what PLATO ſo wittily reply'd to DIOGENES, trampling with his dirty feet on one of his embroider'd couches, and crying out, *Thus I trample on the pride of* PLATO; who only ſhook his head, ſaying, *But with more pride thou do'ſt it, good* DIOGENES. For I am more jealous of it in my ſelf than in any body elſe, knowing how little excuſe I have for it.

ON

ON CRITICISM.

THERE have been always Criticks; and ſome few good, among a great many bad ones; but I believe there was never ſuch an age and nation for that humour as ours is at preſent. In ſo great a town as *London*, there is always a little of the Plague in ſome odd corner or other; but ſometimes 'tis epidemical, and ſweeps all away. Juſt ſo 'tis now with Criticiſm, which without the leaſt diſtinction ſpares nobody. That I mean, which is vented in eating-houſes, coffee-houſes, and play-houſes; and is nothing in the world but a mixture of ill-nature and ignorance. But, the worſt is, theſe bleak winds are ever blaſting all our hopeful bloſſoms; for they hinder the modeſteſt and beſt wits from writing; but, like winds too, they can hardly hurt what is well ripened, and come forth: For 'tis almoſt in-

fallible that a real good thing will bear out it ſelf, and in a little time get the better of all oppoſition. Time therefore, in all matters of writing, is the only true touchſtone of merit; which at length will prevail over all the folly and faction imaginable.

As in old *Rome*, what made ſuch excellent orators above any ſince, but the univerſal endeavour of all mankind then to be eloquent? So here, among ſo many Criticks, 'tis impoſſible but ſome few muſt be fitted by nature for ſuch an exact judgment of things; and it being ſo much the faſhion, they cannot fail by art and practice to improve their talent.

The buſineſs of a Critick is mightily miſtaken among us; for our Town-ſparks think it conſiſts in nothing but finding fault, which is but the leaſt half of their work. Every man who drinks his pot, can judge a paultry picture in an alehouſe to be worth nothing; but how few can diſcern the beſt touches, and judge of a good collection!

'Tis ſurely not undecent to mention one's ſelf, when 'tis rather with cenſure than approbation. When I came firſt abroad into the world, being extremely young, I thought it a fine thing to laugh at every body, to

ſhew my wit; and fancied my ſelf the better, as I repreſented others to be worſe: but now I deſpiſe that affectation, which is as ridiculous, as if a Lady would ſweep out the naſtineſs of a room, to ſhew her own neatneſs. Let the half-wits do it, 'tis their drudgery.

I confeſs I am ſtill very difficult in matters of writing, and ſeldom find any thing worth commending, becauſe of thoſe great Idea's I have of the Antients: which make me yet more unſatisfied with my ſelf than with any body elſe. But when I meet with any thing that deſerves it, I approve it gladly, both for the juſtice of the thing, and becauſe I give ſome proof of my own candour and eaſineſs of humour, which (without partiality) hath nothing of the envy ſo common now-a-days even among our beſt wits. Yet perhaps this may proceed from a ſort of vanity, of which I am as apt to ſuſpect my ſelf guilty, as any body; knowing ſo well that all ſort of writers, eſpecially Poets, are too much inclined to it.

An ill Critick is, I think, of all ſorts of writers the moſt contemptible; a very fop of a Wit. Yet ſuch as Wo--y, &c. are even below that. They are no better than little dogs that bark at a traveller; if he be ſuch

a fool to ſtop his journey, or ſo much as flaſh his whip at them, he'll draw on more noiſe, and the boys of the town to boot; but if he rides on his way, the poor Curs ſneak away home, and are no more taken notice of.

ON

ON

AUTHORS.

'TIS a ſtrange thing to obſerve how very wiſely and morally ſome men will write, and yet all the while live almoſt like the vulgar; as TULLY of old, and of late my Lord BACON; both, I believe, of as great parts and knowledge as ever any age has produced.

THEY differ in many things, but in this they are alike; in having written ſo very philoſophically, and almoſt divinely on all manner of ſubjects, eſpecially morality: Yet the firſt was too great a flatterer of an Uſurper, his Country's Tyrant, extolling him every where againſt his very conſcience; as appears by his railing at him as much after his death, and grieving that he had no hand in it. Alſo no man was ſo extremely ſenſible of any turn of fortune; a ſign of a little ſpirit, conſidering the magnanimous temper of thoſe times.

He expos'd alſo his vanity a little too much even for thoſe times, when it was moſt in faſhion; and indeed it was a wiſe mode, becauſe of the many great and good actions it produced. The other great Author needs not be deſcribed, every body knowing too well how low and little he was in many things, even at his height, when Lord Chancellor of *England*; otherwiſe his diſgrace had never been able to deject him ſo much: The Sun appears as glorious at his ſetting, as riſing; and I am apt to think whoever behaves himſelf well, and is equal to his advancement, will never appear leſs conſiderable, or be dejected with his diſgrace. But, to make him ſome amends; all his works are, for expreſſion as well as thought, the glory of our nation, and of all latter ages.

'Tis therefore an amazing thing to reflect on the vaſt difference between the actions and writings of the ſame perſon! 'Tis enough almoſt to make a man believe Inſpiration: but to that the Poets only can pretend. I do not remember that any eminent one of that divine profeſſion, fell thus ſhort in their behaviour of their own former precepts, or acted ſo much contrary to them. To all this we can only ſay, that of Underſtandings,

ings, as well as Faces, there are no two in the whole world exactly alike; and therefore in so vast a variety there must needs be some very odd and unaccountable. Yet few such wonders as these two happen, who were so often failing themselves, yet capable and worthy of instructing all mankind. Such men put me in mind of one of the best Teachers to dance in all *Paris*, who was so lame himself, that he could hardly go or stand.

THESE great Authors had done the world yet more service in their works, if they had entertain'd us with their own imperfections, and describ'd (as they could have done most admirably) that unpliableness of their passions and humours, under all their learning and wisdom. But we must never expect so much sincerity in any writer, except the incomparable MONTAGN, who is like to stand alone to all posterity. Yet whenever any great Wit shall incline to the same free way of writing, I almost dare assure him of success; for besides the agreeableness of such a book, so very sincere a temper of mind needs not blush to be exposed as naked as possible.

MONTAGN, methinks, represents ADAM in his innocence; the very first of his kind;

naked, but not aſhamed, becauſe unblemiſhed and unaffected. I know he is accus'd of Vanity, but (I think) without reaſon. And tho' he were guilty, 'tis hard not to forgive an only fault in him, and a fault which abounds ſo much more in all the great Wits we read of. Nay, perhaps it is a fault in an author quite to want it; for why ſhould a man ſet up ſchool, if he does not own he knows more than his ſcholars? They'll ſay, you muſt conceal this good opinion of your ſelf; which yet is allowing the thing, tho' not the ſhewing it: and that is ſufficient to excuſe MONTAGN, who if he had vanity, did (ſure) of all the world diſguiſe it the beſt; and ſo very well, that we ſee 'tis a diſpute whether he had it or not? 'Tis indeed the ſhewing it ſelf ſo groſſly, that is the fooliſh part of vanity; and ruins the reputation it deſigns ſo much to raiſe. For Boaſting is not only telling of Lyes, but alſo many unſeemly Truths; and that man does certainly worſe who expoſes his Miſtreſs's favours, than he who pretends falſely to have received them; becauſe they are equally vain, but the firſt is alſo ungrateful.

OF

Vulgar Errors.

PROFANENESS in converſation paſſes for ſprightlineſs and wit; whereas 'tis only a ſign of wanting both Judgment and Manners.

BEING complemental and cringing on all occaſions, paſſes with many for good breeding; whereas 'tis juſt the contrary. For good breeding is judging well when to be formal, and when to be familiar. Too much of the firſt is as ridiculous on the one hand, as a Quaker's ſcrupling to put off his Hat, on the other; and in my opinion the more troubleſome extreme of the two.

SILENT ſort of men are eſteem'd generally the more judicious and thinking; but 'tis commonly only dulneſs and want of thought:

for imagination will hardly let the tongue lie ſtill: Tho' if a quick ſort of man can overcome his eagerneſs of ſpeaking ſo much, he will ſhine the more for his not appearing to aim at it.

PHYSICIANS are commonly believ'd to be of a profeſſion both honeſt and skilful; yet their art is little better than that of a Jugler or Aſtrologer; which is no art at all, but couzening the ignorant. Their whole deſign (generally ſpeaking) is to delay the *Cure*, as well as the *Death* of their patients: So that in truth, the laſt of theſe is no leſs an injury than the other; for what is Life worth, under the uneaſineſs of a languiſhing condition? I except particular friendſhips, which will ſometimes influence them, (and indeed even ill people:) but I think a *Salary for life* a better method than *Fees*, and wou'd more prevail upon theſe gentlemen to do their beſt; (tho' alas, how little does their beſt ſignify?) This is only the caſe in general; for I doubt not but ſome Phyſicians are abler and honeſter than the reſt; and I have my ſelf had the experience of One, whoſe skill, honeſty, and friendſhip, has recovered the moſt valuable part of my family out of dangers in which we have almoſt de-

deſpaired of ſucceſs, and reſtored her to perfect health.

SURGEONS are ſomething leſs reſpected than phyſicians, which is wrong; theirs being a real art, and one of the moſt uſeful ones, if practiſed faithfully, (which I doubt is very ſeldom.)

APOTHECARIES are under-valued, but yet, when men of judgment and practice, are as uſeful as phyſicians, who either have not time, or will not give it, to attend their patients as they ſhould do.

DIVINES are generally thought to be, and often are, Men of the beſt Lives; becauſe indeed for ſhame they dare hardly be otherwiſe: but if their Morals are well obſerved, I doubt they will moſt of them appear like other men.

GREAT gravity paſſes with moſt for wiſdom, but is often dulneſs, ſometimes affectation, at the beſt diſagreeable.

TELLING ſtories well, paſſed for the beſt ſort of wit in the laſt age, and is ſometimes approved of even in this; but 'tis more a talent of diverſion than value.

A man's temper is more judg'd by his mien and outſide, though very fallacious, than by his very behaviour it ſelf. I have

known a man thought haughty, only becauſe he was ſhort-ſighted, and could not know people as he met them: but the ſame man, by miſtake, would often bow to his own ſervants; who knew his defect, and therefore had as little reaſon to think him humble, as others had to think him proud.

THE world is always inclined to think thoſe perſons vain (though never ſo far from it) who have either ſuch talents, or ſuch good fortune, as would make a great many others ſo. For this reaſon, the firſt thing women ſay of a new beauty, is, that ſhe is proud and conceited, even before they have ſeen her; becauſe they wou'd be ſo in her condition.

WOMEN are thought generally by nature to be much inferior to man in Underſtanding; but I believe the difference lies chiefly in education, by which they give us very great odds; and yet I know ſome that can hold up the game pretty well againſt us.

WOMEN are believed extremely timorous too; indeed they are ſo of ſwords and guns, becauſe ſo little uſed to them; but in other matters not leſs dangerous, we find them ſufficiently hazardous. Certainly their readi-

neſs in finding excuſes on the ſudden, is no ſmall proof of their reſolution; with which ſort of confidence nature has armed them for their neceſſary defence on all occaſions, eſpecially againſt thoſe dangers to which ſhe moſt inclines them.

A Wife ſometimes, but a Miſtreſs always, thinks her ſelf undone and forſaken, if ſhe finds a man has but once had an affair with another woman: As if a bit or two of ſecond courſe were a ſign that a man wou'd never love mutton again; whereas, perhaps it is a reaſon not to be nauſeated even with mutton it ſelf, though it came from *Bagſhot*, or *Banſtead-Downs*.

MEMORY is accounted a talent oppoſite to Wit and Underſtanding, whereas indeed 'tis juſt the contrary. I believe the miſtake ariſes from this: A man of ſenſe will never tell a long ſtory, tho' he ſhould remember it never ſo well; nor will ſuch a man think many things worth his remembring, which a fool perhaps ſets a value upon.

THEY are thought to have read much, who ſpeak of it often; which is only a ſign of not digeſting what they read; juſt as a Man's bringing up his ſupper, gives

a proof of his eating, but a very diſagreeable one.

WHEN ambitious men are much diſappointed, ſome of the ableſt of them have been apt, out of peeviſhneſs, to give over the world: But often, a little patience is enough to bring things about again.

SOME people are troubling both themſelves and others with making great feaſts, which they think is living nobly, and Princes themſelves are unable to eſcape them; whereas a conſtant way of living politely, is much more eſtimable, as well as pleaſant.

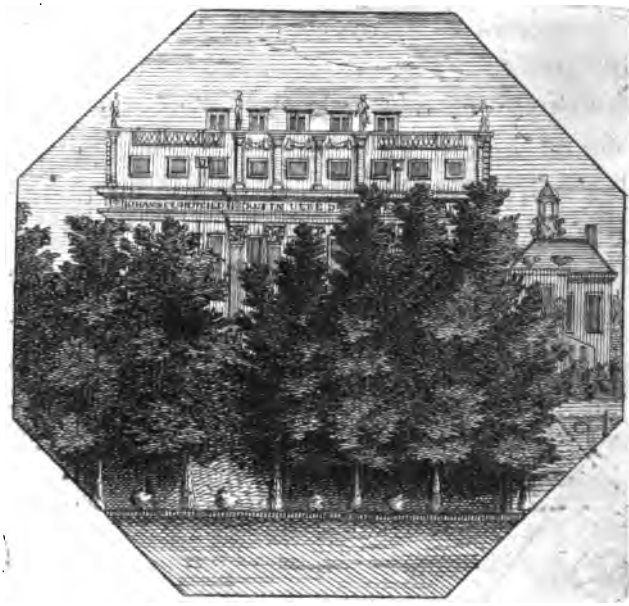
SCARCE one fat perſon in twenty, but makes himſelf appear a great deal fatter by fine clothes: and ugly women do the ſame by their finery.

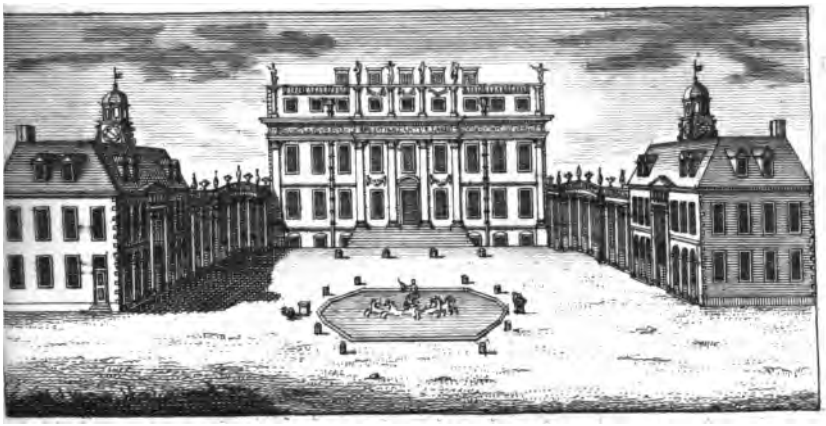
'TIS the faſhion to carve at one's own table, a terrible trouble! which divided among the company, would be none at all to any one of them.

MUSICIANS, Painters, and even Poets, are generally thought a little fantaſtical; but 'tis the ill ones only, that are ſo: the good ones in all ages have been eminently otherwiſe. As VIRGIL and HORACE, SPENCER, MILTON and WALLER, MALHERBE, CORNEILLE,

NEILLE, and BOILEAU. For Painters, beſides thoſe of old, RAPHAEL and LEONARDO, TITIAN, RUBENS, and VANDIKE, all of them throughly accompliſh'd, and fit for the greateſt affairs. Muſick has ſcarce appear'd in our climate; but the only perſon remarkable for it in *France* (I mean BAPTIST) was an agreeable Wit, and all his life manag'd a great and new diverſion there with credit and profit. The cauſe of this error is, the multitude of odd fellows inclined to ſome one of theſe three amuſements, though not in the leaſt fitted by nature for any of them; ſo that being ſo ſilly as to undertake they know not what, they muſt needs appear fantaſtical, becauſe errant coxcombs; imploying fooliſhly their whole time in arts they are incapable of. That which ſhews ſo many more fops in Poetry, than in any other art or ſcience, is very plain; for how can the ableſt Critick in that art convince the moſt fooliſh Poet of his failings? even the moſt intimate acquaintance is unwilling to tell a man that he is an Aſs; which is the very caſe, whenever any body pretends to this accompliſhment without any genius. Perhaps he may tell him that he is too lazy

lazy to be a Lawyer, too nice to be a Phyſician, or too gay to be a Prieſt: but to be told he wants either wit or judgment, goes very hard with a coxcomb.





A

LETTER

TO THE

D---- of Sh----

OU accuſe me of ſingularity in reſigning the Privy Seal with a good penſion added to it, and yet afterwards ſtaying in town at a ſeaſon when every body elſe leaves it; which you ſay is deſpiſing at once both Court and Coun-

Country. You deſire me therefore to defend myſelf, if I can, by deſcribing very particularly in what manner I ſpend ſo many hours, that appear long to you who know nothing of the matter, and yet, methinks, are but too ſhort for me.

No part of this task which you impoſe, is uneaſy; except the neceſſity of uſing the ſingular number ſo often. That one Letter [I] is a moſt dangerous monoſyllable, and gives an air of vanity to the modeſteſt diſcourſe whatſoever. But you will remember I write this only by way of apology; and that, under accuſation, it is allowable to plead any thing for defence, though a little tending to one's own commendation.

To begin then without more preamble: I riſe, now in ſummer, about ſeven a-clock, from a very large bed-chamber (intirely quiet, high, and free from the early ſun) to walk in the garden; or, if rainy, in a *Salon* filled with pictures, ſome good, but none diſagreeable: there alſo, in a row above them, I have ſo many portraits of famous perſons in ſeveral kinds, as are enough to excite ambition in any man leſs lazy, or leſs at eaſe, than myſelf.

INSTEAD of a little dozing cloſet (according to the unwholeſome cuſtom of moſt people) I chuſe this ſpacious room, for all my ſmall affairs, reading books or writing letters; where I am never in the leaſt tired, by the help of ſtretching my legs ſometimes in ſo long a room, and of looking into the pleaſanteſt park in the world juſt underneath it.

VISITS, after a certain hour, are not to be avoided; ſome of which I own a little fatiguing (tho' thanks to the town's lazineſs, they come pretty late) if the garden was not ſo near, as to give a ſeaſonable refreſhment between thoſe ceremonious interruptions. And I am more ſorry than my coachman himſelf, if I am forced to go abroad any part of the morning. For though my garden is ſuch, as by not pretending to rarities or curioſities, has nothing in it to inveagle one's thoughts; yet by the advantage of ſituation and proſpect, it is able to ſuggeſt the nobleſt that can be; in preſenting at once to view a vaſt Town, a Palace, and a magnificent Cathedral. I confeſs the laſt with all its ſplendour, has leſs ſhare in exciting my devotion, than the moſt common ſhrub in my garden: For though I am apt to be

be ſincerely devout in any ſort of religious aſſemblies, from the very beſt (that of our own Church) even to thoſe of *Jews*, *Turks*, and *Indians*: Yet the works of nature appear to me the better ſort of ſermons; and every flower contains in it the moſt edifying rhetorick, to fill us with admiration of its omnipotent Creator.

AFTER I have dined (either agreeably with friends, or at worſt with better company than your country-neighbours) I drive away to a * Place of air and exerciſe; which ſome conſtitutions are in abſolute need of: agitation of the body, and diverſion of the mind, being a compoſition for health above all the skill of HIPPOCRATES.

*Marybone.

THE ſmall diſtance of this place from *London*, is juſt enough for recovering my wearineſs, and recruiting my ſpirits, ſo as to make me fitter than before I ſet out, for either buſineſs or pleaſure. At the mentioning the laſt of theſe, methinks I ſee you ſmile; but I confeſs myſelf ſo changed [which you maliciouſly, I know, will call decayed] as to my former enchanting delights, that the company I commonly find at home is agreeable enough to make me conclude the evening on a delightful Terrace, or in a Place free from

from late viſits, except of familiar acquaintance.

By this account you will ſee, that moſt of my time is conjugally ſpent at home; and conſequently you will blame my lazineſs more than ever, for not imploying it in a way, which your partiality is wont to think me capable of. Therefore I am obliged to go on with this trifling deſcription, as ſome excuſe for my idleneſs. But how ſuch a deſcription itſelf is excuſable, is what I ſhould be very much in pain about, if I thought any body could ſee it beſides your ſelf, who are too good a judge in all things to miſtake a friend's compliance in a private letter, for the leaſt touch of Vanity.

The Avenues to this houſe are along St. James's Park, through rows of goodly Elms on one hand, and gay flouriſhing Limes on the other; that for coaches, this for walking; with the Mall lying between them. This reaches to my iron paliſade that incompaſſes a ſquare court, which has in the midſt a great baſon with ſtatues and water-works; and from its entrance, riſes all the way imperceptibly, 'till we mount to a Terrace in the front of a large Hall, paved with ſquare white ſtones mixed with a dark-coloured

marble; the walls of it covered with a ſett of pictures done in the ſchool of RAPHAEL. Out of this, on the right hand we go into a parlour thirty three foot by thirty nine, with a niche fifteen foot broad for a Bufette, paved with white marble, and placed within an arch, with Pilaſters of diverſe colours, the upper part of which as high as the ceiling is painted by RICCI.

FROM hence we paſs through a ſuite of large rooms, into a bed-chamber of thirty four foot by twenty ſeven; within it a large cloſet, that opens into a green-houſe.

ON the left hand of the hall are three ſtone arches ſupported by *Corinthian* pillars, under one of which we go up eight and forty ſteps ten foot broad, each ſtep of one entire *Portland*-ſtone: Theſe ſtairs, by the help of two reſting-places, are ſo very eaſy, there is no need of leaning on the iron-balluſter. The walls are painted with the ſtory of DIDO; whom though the Poet was oblig'd to diſpatch away mournfully in order to make room for LAVINIA, the better-natured Painter has brought no farther than to that fatal Cave, where the Lovers appear juſt entring, and languiſhing with deſire.

THE

THE roof of this ſtair-caſe, which is fifty five foot from the ground, is of forty foot by thirty ſix, filled with the figures of Gods and Goddeſſes; in the midſt is JUNO, condeſcending to beg aſſiſtance from VENUS, to bring about a marriage which the fates intended ſhould be the ruin of her own darling Queen and People. By which that ſublime Poet wiſely intimates, that we ſhould never be over-eager for any thing, either in our purſuits, or our prayers; leſt what we endeavour or ask too violently for our intereſt, ſhould be granted us by Providence only in order to our ruin.

THE bas-reliefs and little ſquares above are all epiſodical paintings of the ſame ſtory: and the largeneſs of the whole has admitted of a ſure remedy againſt any decay of the colours from ſalt-petre in the wall, by making another of oak-laths four inches within it, and ſo primed over like a picture.

FROM a wide Landing-place on the ſtairs-head, a great double-door opens into an apartment of the ſame dimenſions with that below, only three foot higher: Notwithſtanding which, it would appear too low, if the higher *Salon* had not been divided

from it. The firſt room of this floor has within it a cloſet of original pictures, which yet are not ſo entertaining as the delightful proſpect from the windows. Out of the ſecond room a pair of great doors give entrance into the *Salon*, which is thirty five foot high, thirty ſix broad, and forty five long. In the midſt of its roof a round picture of GENTILESCHI eighteen foot in diameter, repreſents the Muſes playing in conſort to APOLLO, lying along on a cloud to hear them. The reſt of the room is adorned with paintings relating to Arts and Sciences; and underneath divers original pictures hang all in good lights, by the help of an upper row of windows, which drown the glaring.

MUCH of this ſeems appertaining to parade, and therefore I am glad to leave it to deſcribe the reſt, which is all for convenience. As firſt, a covered-paſſage from the kitchen without-doors; and another down to the cellars and all the offices within. Near this, a large and lightſome back-ſtairs leads up to ſuch an entry above, as ſecures our private bed-chambers both from noiſe and cold. Here we have neceſſary dreſſing-rooms, ſervants rooms, and cloſets, from which are the pleaſanteſt views of all the houſe,

houſe, with a little door for communication betwixt this private apartment and the great one.

THESE ſtairs, and thoſe of the ſame kind at the other end of the houſe, carry us up to the higheſt ſtory, fitted for the women and children, with the floors ſo contrived as to prevent all noiſe over my wife's head, during the myſteries of LUCINA.

IN mentioning the court at firſt, I forgot the two wings in it, built on ſtone arches, which join the houſe by Corridores ſupported on Ionic pillars. In one of theſe wings is a large kitchen thirty foot high, with an open cupolo on the top; near it a larder, brew-houſe, and landry, with rooms over them for ſervants: the upper ſort of ſervants are lodged in the other wing, which has alſo two wardrobes and a ſtore-room for fruit: On the top of all, a leaden ciſtern holding fifty tuns of water, driven up by an engine from the *Thames*, ſupplies all the water-works in the courts and gardens, which lie quite round the houſe; through one of which a graſs walk conducts to the ſtables, built round a court, with ſix coach-houſes and forty Stalls.

I'LL add but one thing, before I carry you into the garden, and that is about walking too, but 'tis on the top of all the houſe; which being covered with ſmooth mill'd Lead, and defended by a parapet of balluſters from all apprehenſion as well as danger, entertains the eye with a far diſtant proſpect of hills and dales, and a near one of parks and gardens. To theſe gardens we go down from the houſe by ſeven ſteps, into a gravel-walk that reaches croſs the whole garden: with a covered arbour at each end of it. Another of thirty foot broad leads from the front of the houſe, and lies between two groves of tall Lime-trees planted in ſeveral equal ranks upon a carpet of graſs: the outſides of theſe groves are bordered with tubs of Bays and Orange-Trees.

AT the end of this broad walk, you go up to a Terrace four hundred paces long, with a large Semicircle in the middle, from whence is beheld the Queen's two parks, and a great part of *Surrey*; then going down a few ſteps, you walk on the bank of a canal ſix hundred yards long, and ſeventeen broad, with two rows of Limes on each ſide of it.

ON one ſide of this Terrace, a Wall covered with Roſes and Jaſſemines is made low,

to

to admit the view of a meadow full of cattle juſt under it, [no diſagreeable object in the midſt of a great City] and at each end a deſcent into parterres, with fountains and water-works.

FROM the biggeſt of theſe parterres we paſs into a little ſquare garden, that has a fountain in the middle, and two green houſes on the ſides, with a convenient bathing apartment in one of them; and near another part of it lies a flower-garden. Below all this, a kitchen-garden full of the beſt ſorts of fruit, has ſeveral walks in it fit for the coldeſt weather.

THUS I have done with a tedious deſcription: Only one thing I forgot, though of more ſatisfaction to me than all the reſt, which I fancy you gueſs already; and 'tis a little cloſet of Books, at the end of that green-houſe which joins the beſt apartment; which, beſides their being ſo very near, are ranked in ſuch a method, that by its mark a very *Iriſh* footman may fetch any book I want.

UNDER the windows of this cloſet and green-houſe, is a little wilderneſs full of black-birds and nightingales. The Trees, though planted by my ſelf, require lopping

already, to prevent their hind'ring the view of that fine canal in the *Park*.

AFTER all this, to a friend I'll expoſe my weakneſs, as an inſtance of the mind's unquietneſs under the moſt pleaſing enjoyments. I am oftner miſſing a pretty gallery in the old houſe I pulled down, than pleaſed with a *Salon* which I built in its ſtead, tho' a thouſand times better in all manner of reſpects.

AND now [*pour fair bonne bouche* with a grave reflection] it were well for us, if this incapacity of being intirely contented was as ſure a proof of our being reſerved for happineſs in another world, as it is of our frailty and imperfection in this. I confeſs the Divines tell us ſo; but though I believe a future ſtate more firmly than a great many of them appear to do, by their inordinate deſires of the good things in this; yet I own my faith is founded, not on thoſe fallacious arguments of preachers, but on that adorable conjunction of unbounded power and goodneſs, which certainly muſt ſome way recompenſe hereafter, ſo many thouſands of innocent wretches created to be ſo miſerable here.

A

LETTER to Mr. *P---*,

On the late Diſpute about HOMER.

YOU deſire my opinion as to the late diſpute in *France* concerning HOMER: And I think it excuſable (at an age alas of not much pleaſure) to amuſe my ſelf a little in taking notice of a controverſy, than which nothing is at preſent more remarkable (even in a nation who value themſelves ſo much upon the *Belles Lettres*) both on account of the illuſtrious ſubject of it, and of the two perſons ingaged in the quarrel.

THE one, is extraordinary in all the Lyrick-kind of Poetry, even in the opinion of his very adverſary. The other, a Lady (and

of more value for being ſo) not only of great Learning, but with a Genius admirably turn'd to that ſort of it which moſt becomes her Sex, for ſoftneſs, genteelneſs, and promoting of vertue: and ſuch as (one would think) is not ſo liable as other parts of ſcholarſhip, to rough diſputes, or violent animoſity.

YET it has ſo happen'd that no writers, even about Divinity it ſelf, have been more outrageous or uncharitable than theſe two polite authors; by ſuffering their judgments to be a little warped (if I may uſe that expreſſion) by the heat of their eager inclinations, to attack or defend ſo great an Author under debate: I wiſh, for the ſake of the publick, which is now ſo well entertain'd by their quarrel, it may not end at laſt in their agreeing to blame equally a third man, who is ſo preſumptuous as to cenſure both, if they ſhould chance to hear of it.

TO begin with matter of fact. M. D'ACIER has well judg'd, that the beſt of all Poets certainly deſerv'd a better tranſlation, at leaſt into *French* proſe, becauſe to ſee it done in verſe was deſpair'd of: I believe indeed from a defect in that language, incapable of mounting to any degree of excellence ſuitable to ſo very great an undertaking.

SHE

SHE has not only perform'd this task as well as proſe can do it, (which is indeed but as the wrong ſide of tapeſtry is able to repreſent the right) ſhe has added to it alſo many learned and uſeful annotations. With all which ſhe moſt obligingly delighted not only her own ſex, but moſt of ours, ignorant of the *Greek*, and conſequently her adverſary himſelf, who frankly acknowledges that ignorance.

'TIS no wonder therefore if in doing this, ſhe is grown ſo enamour'd of that unſpeakably-charming Author, as to have a kind of horror at the leaſt mention of a man bold enough to blame him.

NOW as to M. DE LA MOTTE, he being already deſervedly famous for all ſorts of Lyrick poetry, was ſo far introduc'd by her into thoſe beauties of the Epick kind, (though but in that way of tranſlation) as not to reſiſt the pleaſure and hope of reputation by attempting that in verſe, which had been applauded ſo much for the difficulty of doing even in proſe; knowing how this, well executed, muſt extremely tranſcend the other.

BUT, as great Poets are a little apt to think they have an ancient right of being excus'd

excus'd for vanity on all occaſions; he was not content to out-do M. D'Acier, but endeavour'd to out-do Homer himſelf, and all that ever in any age or nation went before him in the ſame enterprize; by leaving out, altering, or adding whatever he thought beſt.

Against this preſumptuous attempt, Homer has been in all times ſo well defended, as not to need my ſmall aſſiſtance; yet I muſt needs ſay, his excellencies are ſuch, that for their ſakes, he deſerves a much gentler touch for his few ſeeming errors. Theſe, if M. de la Motte had tranſlated as well as the reſt, with an apology for having retain'd 'em only out of meer veneration; his judgment in my opinion would have appear'd much greater than by the beſt of his alterations, though I admit them to be written very finely.

I join with M. de la Motte in wondering at ſome odd things in Homer, but 'tis chiefly becauſe of his ſublime ones, I was about to ſay his divine ones, which almoſt ſurprize me at finding him any where in the fallible condition of human nature.

And now we are wond'ring, I am in a difficulty to gueſs, what can be the reaſon of all theſe exceptions againſt Homer, from one who has himſelf tranſlated him, contrary

trary to the general cuſtom of tranſlators. Is there not a little of that in it? I mean the deſire to be ſingular in getting above the title of a tranſlator, though ſufficiently honourable in this caſe. For ſuch an ambition no body has leſs occaſion, than one who is ſo fine a poet in other kinds; and who muſt have too much wit to believe, any alterations of another can intitle him to the denomination of an *Epick Poet* himſelf: though no man in this age ſeems more capable of being a good one, if the *French* tongue would bear it. Yet in his tranſlation he has done too well, to leave any doubt (with all his faults) that her's can be ever parallell'd with it.

BESIDES, he could not be ignorant, that finding faults is the moſt eaſy and vulgar part of a critick; whereas nothing ſhews ſo much skill and taſte both, as the being throughly ſenſible of the ſublimeſt excellencies.

WHAT can we ſay in excuſe of all this, but *Humanum eſt errare?* Since as good a Poet as I believe the *French* language is capable of, and as ſharp a Critick as any nation can produce, has by too much cenſuring HOMER, ſubjected a tranſlation to cenſure, that would have otherwiſe ſtood the teſt of the ſevereſt adverſary. BUT

BUT ſince he would needs chuſe that wrong way of criticiſm, I wonder he miſs'd a ſtone ſo ready to be thrown againſt HOMER, for his filling the Iliad not only with ſo much ſlaughter, (for that is to be excuſed, ſince a War is not capable of being deſcribed without it) but with ſo many various particulars of wounds and horror, as ſhew the writer I am afraid ſo delighted that way himſelf, as not the leaſt to doubt his reader being ſo alſo. Like SPANIOLETTA, whoſe diſmal pictures are the more diſagreeable for being always ſo very movingly painted. Even HECTOR's laſt parting from his ſon and ANDROMACHE, hardly makes us amends for his body's being dragg'd thrice round the town. M. DE LA MOTTE in his ſtrongeſt objection about that diſmal combat, has ſufficient cauſe to blame his inrag'd adverſary, who here gives an inſtance that it is impoſſible to be violent without committing ſome miſtake; her paſſion for HOMER blinding her too much to perceive the very groſſeſt of his failings. By which warning I am become a little more capable of impartiality, though in a diſpute about that very poet for whom I have the greateſt veneration.

M.

M. D'ACIER might have conſidered a little, that whatever were the motives of M. DE LA MOTTE to ſo bold a proceeding, it could not darken that fame which I am ſure ſhe thinks ſhines ſecurely even after the vain attempts of PLATO himſelf againſt it: caus'd only perhaps by a like reaſon with that of Madam D'ACIER's anger againſt M. DE LA MOTTE, namely, the finding that in proſe his genius (great as it was) could not be capable of the ſublime heights of poetry, which therefore he baniſh'd out of his commonwealth.

NOR were theſe objections to HOMER any more leſſening of her merit in tranſlating him as well as that way is capable of, *viz.* fully, plainly, and elegantly, than the moſt admirable verſes can be any diſparagement to as excellent proſe.

THE beſt excuſe for all this violence is, its being in a cauſe which gives a kind of reputation even to ſuffering, by never ſo ill a management of it.

THE worſt of defending even HOMER in ſuch a paſſionate manner, is its being more a proof of her weakneſs, than of his being liable to none. For what is it can excuſe HOMER any more than HECTOR, for flying

at the firſt ſight of ACHILLES? whoſe terrible aſpect ſure needed not ſuch an inexcuſeable fright to ſet it off; and methinks all that account of MINERVA's reſtoring his dart to ACHILLES, comes a little too late, for excuſing HECTOR's ſo terrible apprehenſion at the very firſt.

F I N I S.

THE

CASTRATIONS.

[Price One Shilling and Six-pence.]

Some Account

OF THE

REVOLUTION.

IN the Year 1688, there was a wonderful Conſternation among ſome People, and an eager Expectation in All, what would be the Event of an Army's landing in *England*, under the Command of a Prince ſo nearly related, and nearer ally'd to the King. The pretended Cauſe of his coming was for Redreſs of Grievances; the real one needs not be mentioned, and will be eaſily imagined.

THE Nation had been long uneaſy, even in ſome former Reigns, with Fears of Pope-

ry and arbitrary Power; and of late many of the very Court and Council appear'd unſatisfied on that Account. Some were vex'd alſo for two other Reaſons; the great Diminution of their Salaries, by the ill-timed Retrenchments of the Treaſury, and their finding all the Power and Favour engroſs'd by a few, and thoſe alſo the fooliſheſt of the *Roman* Party.

THIS general Diſlike of the King's Management, had, like an Infection, reach'd ſome of his Miniſters themſelves, as the Earls of *Mulgrave* and *Middleton*, never the leaſt tainted with being either falſe or factious; yet the firſt of them, not only in Execution of his Office, aſſiſted openly all the Proteſtant Clergy, but abſented himſelf from all the Councils; and both of them, in their own Juſtification, took all Occaſions of deriding the ill Advices of the Papiſts.

BUT a more dangerous Symptom of the future Change, was a Deſertion among the Officers of his Majeſty's Army, and, at laſt, of the Lord *Churchill* himſelf, tho' a kind of Favourite.

YET all this was nothing, in compariſon of the Princeſs's withdrawing her ſelf from Court by Night, without any Servants, except the Lady *Churchill*, and Mrs. *Berkeley*, con-

conducted by the Biſhop of *London*, whoſe late Diſgrace at Court had help'd him to a reverential ſort of Popularity, which he, of all the Biſhops, would leaſt have found otherwiſe.

And becauſe this extraordinary Deſertion of one Daughter, as well as the other's ſitting on a Father's Throne afterwards, muſt needs ſeem wonderful in two ſuch Princeſſes, both of ſtrict Devotion, and many great Virtues, Poſterity perhaps will be glad to have ſome farther Account of ſuch unprecedented Proceedings in Perſons of ſo unblameable and illuſtrious a Character.

'Tis very remarkable, that this Prince was ſo thoroughly unfortunate, as to be undone by his own Children, and the more, by their being bred up moſt carefully and religiouſly, and their being endowed with all virtuous Inclinations. Theſe being firſt deceiv'd, by the indefatigable Induſtry of ſome People, drew in a great Part of the Nation to be deceived alſo, by the Goodneſs of their Diſpoſitions, and the Nearneſs of their Relation to the Perſon accuſed. For who could ſuſpect ſuch Daughters of wronging their Father? It was infuſed into them ſeverally by the propereſt Inſtruments that could be found, that their Father was

not

not only reſolved to perſecute the Proteſtant Religion, but to ſtick at nothing in order to it; and therefore, at once to prevent his eldeſt Daughter's ſucceeding him, and to ſecure the Throne after him to one of his own Religion, he had contrived a ſuppoſititious Son, who was to ſucceed, and to ſettle that which his ſuppoſed Father might not live long enough to fix ſufficiently. And tho' the Juſtice of his Mind, and the Tenderneſs of his Nature, were enough to diſperſe all ſuch Apprehenſions; yet the Zeal of Popiſh Religion was brought in to overbalance all other Conſiderations. All this was joined with the Prince of *Orange*'s conjugal Impoſitions on the moſt complying Wife in the World, who was at laſt drawn into the diſmal Neceſſity of giving up either her Husband, or a Father, reſolved and ready (as ſhe thought) to diſinherit her. So that two worthy religious Ladies, even becauſe they were ſo, conſented to dethrone a moſt indulgent Father, and to ſucceed him boldly, in their ſeveral Turns, before an innocent Brother then a Child.

Tantum Religio, &c.

'Tis no wonder, after this, if the King began to miſtruſt every body; which made him

him on a ſudden leave his Army at *Saliſbury*, in order to conſider his Condition more ſecurely at *London*. And here I muſt obſerve his ill Fortune, in depending on his Army at firſt too much, and now at laſt too little. For 'tis very probable, that his Soldiers, if once blooded, would have gone on with him, and have beaten the Prince of *Orange*, juſt as he done before the Duke of *Monmouth*; the Nature of *Engliſhmen* being like that of our Game-cocks, which an *Iriſh* Footman once thought he might truſt ſafely together, becauſe they were match'd on one Side, but quickly found them picking out one another's Eyes. The Truth is, our Countrymen love no Cauſe, nor Man, ſo well as Fighting, even ſometimes without any Cauſe at all.

In quitting his Army thus ſuddenly, the King was thought too ſuſpicious and precipitate: But (as unlucky Betters will loſe on both Sides) he had juſt before err'd as much by his Dilatorineſs, as he did now by his Haſte; for when the Lord *Churchill* deſerted him at *Salisbury*, he ſent Orders immediately to ſeize all his Papers at *Whitehall*, before he had ſecur'd either his Lady or the Princeſs, which was only frightening the one, and diſobliging the other.

When

WHEN the King was return'd from *Salisbury*, his Council was reduced within a very narrow Compaſs; and, ſince he ever before thought no body entirely in his Intereſt, except they were of his Religion alſo; 'tis no wonder, if, at this ſuſpicious Time, he conſulted with a few Papiſts only; who (being the very Perſons moſt obnoxious to a Parliament, whenever ſummon'd, and to the Rabble, if Things ran to Confuſion) unanimouſly advis'd him to fly; but more for their own ſakes than his, becauſe they might hope to have an Intereſt with him, remaining in *France*, whither they were now forc'd to eſcape themſelves. From hence alone came that fatal Reſolution of his retiring; which was perhaps the Loſs of his Crown, but certainly ſome Diminution to his former Reputation.

THE King, however, reſolv'd to try one Remedy firſt, or, at leaſt, by that to diſguiſe his intended Flight the better; and therefore ſummon'd all the Peers in Town to a kind of General Council in *Whitehall*; at which ſome of the Biſhops, as well as Temporal Lords, open'd their Grievances ſo boldly, that he condeſcended to ſend two of them (*viz.* the Marqueſs of *Halifax*, and the Earl of *Nottingham*) as his Commiſſioners

ners to the Prince of *Orange*; joining the Lord *Godolphin* with them, who was the only Man that had the Cunning, or elſe the good Fortune, to be at once in ſome Favour with both the King and Prince of *Orange*.

In the mean time he ſent away the Queen, in all Haſte and Privacy, under the Conduct of Monſieur *Lauzun*, an old diſgrac'd Favourite of the *French* King; which indeed was enough to diſcover his own Intention of going to *France* ſoon after. But it was thought worth incurring that Suſpicion, to ſecure the Prince of *Wales*, whom ſhe carry'd along with her to *Calais*. After which, the King, (who before judged himſelf under a Neceſſity of leaving the Kingdom) began now to grow under an Impatience alſo; and perhaps indulged his uneaſy Thoughts, with reflecting, that he now abandon'd three Kingdoms, not ſo much to ſave himſelf, as to follow a Wife and only Son.

Just as he was ſtepping into Bed, the Night before his going away, the Earl of *Mulgrave* happened to come into the Bedchamber, which being at ſo late an Hour, might poſſibly give the King ſome Apprehenſion of that Lord's ſuſpecting his Deſign, with which he was reſolved not to truſt

him, nor any other Proteſtant whatſoever. He therefore ſtopp'd ſhort, and turn'd about to whiſper him in the Ear, that his Commiſſioners had newly ſent him a very hopeful Account of ſome good Accommodation with the Prince of *Orange:* To which that Lord only reply'd with a Queſtion, asking him, if the Prince's Army halted, or approach'd nearer to *London?* The King own'd they ſtill march'd on; at which the other ſhook his Head, and ſaid no more, only made him a low Bow, with a dejected Countenance, humbly to make him underſtand, that he gave no Credit to what the King's hard Circumſtances at that time obliged him to diſſemble.

THUS reſerved was the King to every Body about his withdrawing himſelf; as indeed Men are generally moſt cloſe in Secrets againſt their own Intereſt. The myſterious Carriage of this abſconding coſt the Lord Chancellor *Jefferies* his Life (a thing indeed of little Value to any Body beſides himſelf) who died afterwards in Priſon, for want of having the ſame Warning given him to eſcape, which had been given to the Earl of *Melford* and Father *Peters.* This Proceeding of his was imputed to neither ill Nature nor Careleſsneſs, two Faults

Faults his Majeſty was not guilty of; but rather to his Generoſity; which made him compaſſionate his very Enemies ſo much, as never to forgive that Lord's Cruelty in executing ſuch Multitudes of them in the Weſt, againſt his expreſs Orders.

THE Nuntio alſo eſcaped very narrowly; for, after having ſtolen away to *Graveſend*, behind the Coach of an Envoy of *Savoy*, he was there perceived by the Earl of *Winchelſea*, who, tho' Lord Lieutenant of the County, had been unable to preſerve him from the Rabble; and therefore ſent immediate Notice of it to the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador; who as ſpeedily caus'd the Prince of *Orange* to be waked at *Windſor*, and to ſign a particular ſort of Paſſport for the Train of that *Savoy* Miniſter. By this they prevented an Accident that would have made an ill Impreſſion at this time upon all the Prince's Confederates of the *Roman* Catholick Religion.

BUT, to return to the King. At Three o' Clock in the Morning, he withdrew himſelf by a back Way out of the Bed-chamber; commanding the Duke of *Northumberland* (whom he left there on a Pallet Bed, according to the Cuſtom of his Place

of Gentleman of the Bed-chamber in waiting) not to open the Door, before his uſual Hour of riſing, at which time, ſeveral Perſons of Quality, according to Cuſtom, in great Numbers, being come to attend him at his Levee, divulged the News immediately of his being gone away.

The King intending to paſs thro' *Kent* to the Sea-ſide, took with him Sir *Edward Hales*, a Gentleman of a great Eſtate there, and a new Convert, which had drawn on him the Hatred of all that Country, to ſo great a Degree, as to make him a Hindrance, inſtead of a Help to their Eſcape. This the King himſelf told us at his Return from *Feverſham*, admiring at Sir *Edward*'s having ſo little Credit in his own County: Which was ſo right an Image, in little, of his own unfortunate Condition, that it had been enough to make him more cautious, if he could have perceived it ſooner.

The King's ſudden abſenting himſelf, as it was very extraordinary, ſo it produced as extraordinary Effects every where.

In the Prince of *Orange*'s Army, the Nation was look'd on as their own; at leaſt, all the good Employments in it. In *London*, all the Lords there, both Spiritual and

and Temporal, met the Mayor and Aldermen at *Guildhall*, who, with the reſt of the Citizens, were under ſuch a Conſternation, that they all entirely ſubmitted to the Conduct of thoſe few Peers, who were almoſt in as much Apprehenſion themſelves: For, indeed, the Rabble were the Maſters, if the Beaſts had known their own Strength; at leaſt, till the Prince's Army arriv'd at *London*, which then took their Turn in being ſo, tho' but one Degree better. One of the Lords, in the Name of all the reſt, aſſured the City Magiſtrates of their Affection and Care for the publick Safety; after which, they retired into a Room appointed for them, and chuſing Mr. *Gwin* and Mr. *Cooling* to act the Part of Secretaries, who had been ſo before to the Earls of *Rocheſter* and *Mulgrave*, two Lords then preſent; they ſent Letters immediately to the Fleet, the abandon'd Army of King *James*, and to all the conſiderable Garriſons in *England*, which kept them all in Order and Subjection, not only to the preſent Authority, but to that which ſhould be ſettled afterwards.

The Citizens were extreamly apprehenſive of the *Tower*, imagining all their Houſes would tumble down at the firſt Gun

Gun that ſhould be ſhot from thence; on which the Lords took Occaſion of the Lieutenant's Abſence, at ſuch a time, to put that Command into the Hands of the Lord *Lucas*, who had the good Fortune to be quarter'd there with his Company of Foot. But the moſt important Act of this Aſſembly, was their ſending one Peer of each Rank with a Letter to the Prince of *Orange*, ſubſcribed by them all, in which they took Notice of the King's Abſence, and the Neceſſity of his making all Expedition to *London*, in order to the publick Quiet. This Addreſs was ſign'd by the * Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* in the firſt Place, whom I particularly mention, becauſe, after this ſingle Act of Compliance, he never would appear in publick Affairs, or pay the leaſt ſort of Reſpect to the Prince of *Orange*, even after he was elected King of *England*; and yet, on the other Side, had been as moroſe to King *James* before, in never acknowledging his Son, or ſhewing him the leaſt Civility.

While the Lords thus acted in the City, they often ſent for the Lord Mayor, who received all their Orders as ſub-

* *Sancroft.*

miſſively;

miſſively, as if they had been the moſt legal Commands; and when this Aſſembly roſe, the People were ſo ſenſible of their Dignity, or rather of their Care to prevent all Diſorders, that ſeveral of them, even the two Lords before mentioned, tho' Miniſters of the unfortunate King, had their Coaches attended with Crowds and Applauſes as far as the City-gates. Which I purpoſely take Notice of, becauſe it is a moſt remarkable Inſtance of the Advantage and Power which Men of Rank have above others, whenever they ſhew themſelve induſtrious and zealous for the publick Good.

FROM this Time forwards, 'till the King's Return out of *Kent*, theſe Lords met every Day in the Council-chamber at *Whitehall*; and by that prevented the Unrulineſs of the Rabble, who, the firſt Hour after the King's abſconding, pull'd down the Houſes of the *Florentine* Envoy, and the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador; the laſt of whom had full Amends made him, notwithſtanding ſo high an Inſolence: For the Earl of *Mulgrave* (tho' his Maſter was gone, and his Staff laid aſide) yet thought the Honour of the Nation ſo much concerned, that he preſum'd to take upon himſelf to order

order an Apartment in *Whitehall* immediately, and a great Table to be kept for him twice a Day, with Yoemen of the Guard to attend in his outward Room (which they never do but on the King only) for which Strain of Authority he had the Fortune to thanked both by King *James* and the Prince of *Orange*. This was the higheſt Reſpect that could poſſibly be paid to the King of *Spain* his Maſter; and yet for himſelf, a better Reparation was made afterwards by King *William*, who gave him 17000 *l.* in lieu of his pretended Loſſes; but it rather was for his good Service in perſuading all the Houſe of *Auſtria* to acknowledge him King, to which they were a great while extreamly averſe, notwithſtanding their Union with him againſt *France* and King *James*.

The Biſhop of *Canterbury* refuſing to come any more among thoſe Lords who met at *Whitehall*, and the Archbiſhop of *York* being unaccuſtomed to the Buſineſs of ſuch an Aſſembly, a Lord before-named, one Day propos'd the Marqueſs of *Halifax* as a fit Perſon to preſide in it, which being agreed to, happened to be the Cauſe of all his Favour with the Prince of *Orange*; who, finding him in that Manner at the

Head

Head of ſuch a Council, and indeed ready to ſerve any Turn, thought he might be uſeful in this Conjuncture; tho' before, he had always forbidden his Agents ever to truſt him with their Deſign of coming into *England*. He was accordingly ſtill forced to undergo an eaſy ſort of Tryal, before that Party would entirely confide in him; which was after this manner. When the King unexpectedly return'd from *Feverſham*, they reſolved in the Prince's Council, that ſome Perſons ſhould be ſent to *Whitehall*, with an imperious ſort of Meſſage in the Dead of Night, to make him underſtand, the Prince look'd on him as his Priſoner, and accordingly expected he would immediately remove to *Ham*, under a Guard of *Dutchmen*. The Earl of *Shrewſbury*, and the Lord *Delamere* willingly undertook this extraordinary Embaſſy; but the Prince added the Marqueſs of *Halifax* to be at the Head of it; and could not help ſmiling (as he own'd afterwards) to ſee him, who came a Commiſſioner to him from the other Side, accept to act ſo low a Part ſo very willingly. All this was after the King's being diſcover'd in *Kent*, before which time the Peers ſat daily in the Council-chamber at *Whitehall*; where the Lord *Mulgrave*

one Morning happen'd to be advertiſed privately, that the King had been ſeiz'd by the angry Rabble of *Feverſham*, and had ſent a poor Countryman with the News, in order to procure his Reſcue: Which was like to come too late, ſince the Meſſenger had waited long at the Council-door, without any body's being willing to take Notice of him. This ſad Account mov'd him with great Compaſſion, at ſuch an extraordinary Inſtance of worldly Uncertainty; and no Cautions of offending the prevailing Party, were able to reſtrain him from ſhewing a little Indignation at ſo mean a Proceeding in the Council. Upon which, their new Preſident adjourn'd it haſtily, in order to prevent him; but that Lord earneſtly conjur'd them all to ſit down again preſently, that he might acquaint them with a Matter which admitted of no Delay, and was of the higheſt Importance imaginable. Accordingly, the Lords, who knew nothing of the Buſineſs, could not but hearken to it; and thoſe few that gueſs'd it, and ſaw the Conſequence, yet wanted Time for concerting enough together about ſo nice, and ſo very important a Matter, as ſaving or loſing a King's Life. The Lords therefore ſat down again, and he then repreſented

preſented to them what a Barbarity it would be, for ſuch an Aſſembly to connive at the Rabble's tearing in Pieces even any private Gentleman, much more, a Great Prince, who, with all his Popery, was ſtill their Sovereign. So that meer Shame obliged them to ſuſpend their Politicks a-while, and to call in the Meſſenger, who told them with Tears, how the King had with much Difficulty engag'd him to deliver a Letter from him to any Perſons whom he could find willing to ſave him from ſo imminent Danger. The Letter had no Superſcription, and was to this Effect: To acquaint the Reader of it, that he had been diſcover'd in his Retreat by ſome Fiſhermen of *Kent*, and ſecur'd at firſt there by the Gentry, who were yet afterwards forc'd to reſign him into the Hands of an inſolent Rabble.

On ſo preſſing an Occaſion, and now ſo very publickly made known, the Council was ſurpriz'd, and under ſome Difficulty: For, as there was Danger of diſpleaſing, by doing their Duty, ſo there was no leſs, by omitting it; ſince the Law makes it highly criminal to be only paſſive in ſuch an Extremity: Beſides, that moſt of them, unacquainted as yet with the Prince of

Orange, imagin'd him prudent, and conſequently capable of puniſhing ſo baſe a Deſertion, either out of Generoſity or Policy. Theſe found afterwards their Caution needleſs; but at preſent it influenc'd the Council enough to make them ſend Two Hundred of the Life-guard, under the Command of their Captain, the Earl of *Feverſham*, firſt to ſecure the King from all Danger of the common People, and afterward to attend him toward the Sea-ſide, if he continued his Reſolution of retiring; which they thought it more decent to connive at, than to detain him here by Force.

But it ſeems he was prevail'd on to lay aſide, or rather defer his Journey to *France*, till a farther Opportunity; and it is not unlikely, that truſting no body at that time, he might only pretend to be convinc'd of his Error in going away, in order to get a better Opportunity for it at *London*, than he could hope for in that Country, where he was ſo narrowly watch'd, under the Pretence of being only guarded. But, whatever his Deſign was, the Shouts of Joy, and Shew of Welcome which attended his Coach through *London*, both ſtartled his Enemies, and inclined him a little to ſlight his Friends; openly blaming in Council all

thoſe

thoſe Peers, who, in his Abſence, and out of meer Neceſſity, had taken on themſelves a Power that was ſo very uſeful to the publick Quiet. Which ſhews how jealous of their Authority Princes are apt to be, tho' nothing can more endanger them, than ſuch an overſtraining it.

The King's Return altered all the Meaſures taken in the Prince of *Orange*'s Camp, which was by this time become a Court, and all Places ſuppoſed to be at their Diſpoſal. The Prince, who needed Counſel ſometimes, had now more Occaſion than ever, to aſſemble all thoſe about him, who were either of Quality or Conſideration enough for it. Some, who yet have been ſince the greateſt *Jacobites* and *Nonjurors*, propos'd the ſending King *James* to the *Tower*, and hinted at ſomething farther. But even the worſt-humour'd Princes are leſs ſevere than Counſellors on ſuch Occaſions, eſpecially to Perſons of their own Rank, with whom they cannot avoid having a kind of Fellow-feeling. Whether (as ſome partial to him have imagined) it proceeded either from Generoſity, or ſome Promiſe made to his Wife at Parting; or whether he was made believe, that neither the King's Death nor Impriſonment would help

help him to the Crown ſo ſoon, as his Eſcaping into *France*, a Country ſo hated by the *Engliſh*; or whether he might apprehend his Wife's Title would be found better than his own, in Caſe of her Father's being dead: On which ſoever of theſe Grounds it was, the Prince of *Orange* at laſt reſolved to connive at the King's going into *France*, and to preſerve him from Violence in order to it.

ACCORDING to the Deſign of ſending him away by the Deſpair of any Accommodation, the Earl of *Feverſham* (whom the King ſent to the Prince with a Compliment) was, inſtead of a civil Reception, clapt into Priſon immediately; and Mr. *Zuyleſtein* was ſent in all Haſte to *Kent*, to forbid the King's approaching to *London*.

BUT the King was arrived there before, in the midſt of many joyful Acclamations, which obliged the Prince to dally no longer, and to ſend thoſe three Lords beforementioned, in ſuch a Manner as might ſeem almoſt to pronounce his Doom. They affectedly came about Midnight, and rather exacted, than deſired Admittance to his Bed-ſide at that unſeaſonable Hour; where the Marqueſs of *Halifax* inform'd him from the Prince, that it was dangerous to his

Maje-

Majeſty, as well as to the publick Peace, to remain in *London*; and ſo deſired his immediate going to *Ham*, a Houſe near it, belonging to the Ducheſs of *Lauderdale*.

THE King underſtood the Meſſage, as well as his Danger in being refractory; therefore only deſired *Ham* might be changed for *Rocheſter*, a Town not far from the Sea Coaſt of *France*; to which the Lords ſoon brought him the Prince's Conſent; and ſo he was conveyed thither by Water, under a Guard of * Fifty *Dutchmen*, whoſe Officer had private Orders to let him eſcape afterwards to *France*.

I MUST not omit two things, which ſhew'd his Temper under ſuch an unexpected Change. When the ſtout Earl of *Craven* reſolved to be rather cut in Pieces, than to reſign his Poſt at *Whitehall* to the Prince's Guards, the King prevented that unneceſſary Bloodſhed with a great deal of Care and Kindneſs: And amidſt all that juſt Apprehenſion of Violence to his Perſon, at the ſudden Entry into his Chamber of thoſe three Lords, he at leaſt diſguis'd it ſo well, as to diſcourſe about the ſerving of the Tide, and other things relating to

* There was Fifty Horſe and an Hundred Foot of the Prince's Guards.

his

his Removal, as coolly, and unconcernedly, as if it had been only a common Journey.

THE ſame Night that the King was ſent thus to *Rocheſter*, the Prince of *Orange* came to *London*; where the People were ſo frighted with a Report artificially ſpread about ſome *Iriſh* Papiſts intending a Maſſacre, and with the uſual Inſolence of a Rabble, that he was received with a ſeeming Satisfaction.

THE next Day he ſummoned all the Lords in Town to St. *James*'s where he kept his Court, and after he had in a few Words opened the pretended Cauſe of his coming, he deſired them to conſider of the fitteſt Means to accompliſh the good Ends and Promiſes in his Declaration; which, as it was the firſt time, ſo it was alſo the laſt, that ever he ſeem'd to remember thoſe Promiſes, during all his Reign.

THE Lords accordingly met him next Day at *Weſtminſter*, where they only choſe the Marqueſs of *Halifax* for their Speaker, and made an Order againſt any Papiſts appearing about the Houſe of Parliament. But, on *Monday* following, Notice was brought to the Lords, of the King's being eſcaped from *Rocheſter*, according to the before-mentioned tacit Agreement about

that

that Matter between him and the Prince; who let him go, only becauſe he thought his eſcaping into *France* would be the ſureſt Means of helping him to poſſeſs his Place here. Of this the King himſelf was ſenſible, and therefore, as ſoon as ever his Life was ſecure, he contrived to leave a Letter behind him directed to the Earl of *Middleton*, in which he appeal'd both to God and Man againſt his Flight, forc'd upon him by ſo near a Relation. His Courtiers moved to have this Letter read, but it was carried by Vote in the Negative; which was the firſt Proof of the Lords Intention of excluding their King, though many Diviſions aroſe among them afterwards about the Way of doing it.

THEY all agreed alſo now in two things, the moſt important that could be. The firſt was, that a Convention ſhould be ſummoned by circular Letters in the Prince of *Orange*'s Name, to all thoſe Places which have a Right of chuſing Members of Parliament: And ſecondly, that the Prince ſhould be deſired to manage all publick Affairs, as well as all publick Monies, in the mean time.

SOME who had Eſtates in *Ireland*, deſired the Care and Preſervation of that im-

portant Kingdom might be particularly inſerted into that Addreſs; which was ſomething oddly oppoſed by the New-Court Party (for their ſure Expectation of a new King warrants me now to call them ſo) but yet the Reaſon and meer Neceſſity of the thing propoſed, forced them to comply with it at laſt.

It may be wondered at, and ſcarce believed hereafter, that a full Houſe of Noblemen, wherein were ſo many of the old Court and Council, ſhould agree ſo readily to lay aſide their King, and not ſo much as read the Letter that he left behind him, which might almoſt be reckoned the laſt Words of a dying Sovereign: But that was the Cauſe of it, being thought dangerous, and too moving to be read. It muſt alſo be conſider'd, that of late, both the King's Actions, and the Prince of *Orange*'s (even as if they had agreed it between them) tended to the poſſeſſing every Body with a ſtrong Opinion, of the Proteſtant Religion being endanger'd by the one, and protected by the other. This made almoſt all the King's Miniſters, as well as his Courtiers, expect more Favour even under this new Prince, than they were like to find among a few Bigots of a Religion that endures

dures no other. Therefore, ſince Zeal in ſome, and Intereſt in all, co-operated againſt the King, we need look for no farther Reaſons of ſo ſudden a Change.

BESIDES all this, we may reaſonably conclude, that ſome few Perſons meaning the Prince no good, might think it imprudent to ſtem a Tide, to no other Purpoſe, except their own Ruin: And therefore rather reſerved that Intereſt (which, by their Compliance, they obtained both with the Prince and People) to ſecure the publick Good as much as poſſible, in a Seaſon when almoſt every Body ſeem'd to abandon it. For ſome of the old *Whiggs*, who had ſo long deſpair'd of Court Favour, were now ſo tranſported with it, not only out of their old Principles, but even out of their very Senſes alſo, that ſuch a good Opportunity was loſt, of re-ſettling our old Conſtitution, as perhaps *England* is never like to have again. Which I do not obſerve with any Regard to either of the Kings in Competition; but I only mean, that (whichſoever Prince that Conſtitution ſhould ſet up) our Liberties might have been ſecured, and the Government fixed, on the beſt and ſteadieſt Foundations, an united Intereſt of King and People.

THIS Addreſs of the Lords, inveſting the Prince with almoſt Regal Power, tho' ſufficiently welcome, was yet a little perplexing: For as he could not but think it dangerous to dally with ſuch an Offer; ſo, on the other Hand, it was not very ſafe to accept it, without the Approbation of the Commons alſo.

THE Difficulty lay in this; that he could have that Approbation neither formally, nor plainly, without firſt aſſembling a Parliament; which yet itſelf alone was ſo great an Act of Sovereignty, that, to call it by the Lords Advice only, was, in a manner, accepting the Regal Power from them.

HE was better adviſed in this, than in moſt other things; for a good Expedient was reſolved on. He reply'd, that he would conſider of their Addreſs, and, in the mean time, aſſembled at St. *James*'s all thoſe in Town, who had been Members of King *Charles*'s two laſt Parliaments, together with the Lord Mayor, Court of Aldermen, and Fifty Repreſentatives of the Common Council, whom he deſired to conſider the extraordinary Neceſſity of coming preſently to ſome good Reſolution.

ACCORDINGLY, they all went to *Weſtminſter* next Day, where, in the uſual Houſe

Houſe of Commons (chuſing Mr. *Powell* for their Speaker) they imitated the Lords, in making exactly the ſame Addreſs. And indeed both Houſes might well concur in all, ſince influenc'd, I might have ſaid enforc'd, by the ſame Cauſes; which laſt Expreſſion I make uſe of, both on account of the Prince's Army here, commanded by a famous General, the *Mareſchal de Schomberg*, and alſo of a Murmur which went about, that the City Apprentices were coming down to *Weſtminſter* in a violent Rage againſt all who voted againſt the Prince of *Orange*'s Intereſt. And 'tis certain, that ſome hot-headed Perſons were hardly reſtrained by the Prince of *Orange* himſelf, who lik'd their Zeal, but found no need of uſing ſuch a ſort of Means, as might juſtly invalidate all that ſhould be then done in his Favour.

As ſoon as they had thus publickly addreſs'd to the Prince, and every Man had privately adjuſted his own Conditions with him, both Houſes diſſolved themſelves, in order to go into their ſeveral Countries to influence the approaching Election of that Convention which was to ſettle all things.

'Tis eaſily imagin'd, that all poſſible Induſtry was uſed, for chuſing only Perſons ill-

ill-affected] to the unhappy King, which (for that only Reaſon, becauſe he was ſo) were not very difficult to find. But it happened alſo, that the *Church-party* was almoſt as much oppos'd as the *Jacobites*, becauſe inclin'd to ſet up the Princeſs of *Orange*, above even the Prince her Huſband; notwithſtanding that he was here, arm'd, and ſhe was abſent. For this Reaſon ſhe was kept in *Holland*, 'till he had maſter'd that Difficulty, which vex'd him more than any other.

THERE was Oppoſition alſo from her Siſter the Princeſs of *Denmark*, who thought it hard to loſe her Rank of Succeſſion, by yielding the Crown to him who was but the ſecond Branch, and of whom ſhe had deſerved ſo well: And now both theſe Siſters were aſſiſted in their ſeveral Pretenſions by the *Church-party*, for one Reaſon only, *viz.* becauſe they were bred up extreamly devoted to it.

ONE of the Prince's Arguments (tho' he gave ſome more ſolid ones, that ſeldom fail to perſuade) was indeed a little extraordinary; for he very gravely endeavour'd to make his Friends believe, that he would leave them all in the Lurch, by returning with his Army into *Holland*, rather than yield

yield the Title to his own Wife: And awhile he oppoſed (tho' to no Purpoſe) even her being joined with himſelf in the Sovereignty. Which ſhews the extream Reſtleſsneſs of Ambition, even in its higheſt Scenes of Succeſs. For, tho' an almoſt extravagant Expedition had thus luckily ſucceeded, even beyond his utmoſt Hopes; yet, upon this Jealouſy, he grew more uneaſy, than perhaps ever in his Life before.

On this Account he grew jealous of his moſt intimate Confidents among the *Engliſh*, becauſe they had ſo much Regard to his Wife, with whom he liv'd always coldly, and a little imperiouſly (imitating in that *Henry* VIII.) tho' her conſtant and moſt remarkable Compliance with him, even againſt her own Father and Principles alſo, had been a mighty Help to all his Deſigns.

At this Time, among other Conſultations held in ſeveral Places about theſe Matters, there was one appointed at Mr. *William Herbert*'s Lodgings in St. *James*'s, who was then ſick of the Gout, and ſo concern'd at the Great Favourite's urging it was beſt to make the Princeſs no Sovereign, and only a Queen Conſort; that, riſing out of Bed with Earneſtneſs, he proteſted againſt

ever

ever drawing a Sword on the Prince's Side; if he could have imagin'd him capable of ſuch Uſage to his Wife. This ſo alarm'd and convinc'd Monſ. *Bentinck*, of the Impoſſibility of obtaining a Point, which even ſo intereſted a Courtier as *Herbert* refus'd to comply in, that in half an Hour's time he brought them Aſſurance from the Prince of his not inſiſting on it, and of his being content with conjunctive Sovereignty, on Condition he might have the ſole Adminiſtration; which laſt they conſented to, becauſe herſelf ſo deſired it.

THE Pretenſions of the Princeſs of *Denmark* were more eaſily accommodated: For, ſince the Lord *Churchill* (who govern'd that Family) was like to be highly favoured in this new Reign, they little thought of hers. And therefore, with a good Bribe to her Favourite, the Prince had no more to do, but to promiſe the Princeſs a great Penſion by a Settlement in Parliament; which being in preſent, and enough to keep her Court in Splendor, was then thought equivalent to three Kingdoms in Reverſion.

THUS were all things diſpos'd of for the Convention in the Cabals on the Prince of *Orange*'s Side; and it met on the 22d of *January*. The Prince ſent to both Houſes

Houſes a Letter, urging them to all imaginable Expedition, under the Pretence of common Dangers. But as ſoon as the Lords had choſen the Marqueſs of *Halifax* again for their Speaker, a Letter was ſtraight brought in, directed to the Speaker of that Houſe: And it appearing by the Bearer of it, Mr. *Grey*, that it was given him by the Earl of *Melford* at St. *Germaine*'s in *France*, where our King then liv'd, the Lords with a kind of Clamour forbad it to be read. By which it appear'd plainly, what was like to follow againſt that unhappy Prince; tho' they ſtill divided about the Manner of excluding him.

Now this is the Place, where I would ſpare no Care I am capable of, to explain all thoſe ſecret Turns in that famous Aſſembly, which at laſt made a new Settlement of the Crown of *England* (I wiſh I could ſay, of it's Prerogative alſo, by the juſt bounding of which all our Liberties ſubſiſt) but alas! that was the leaſt Thought of thoſe who dethron'd a King, and impoveriſh'd a Nation, under that Pretence only.

The Houſe of Commons was the moſt unanimous in the new Courtſhip; and therefore it was thought wiſeſt to begin

this great Buſineſs there; from whence they ſent up to the Lords this following Vote: *That the King, by having witdrawn himſelf out of the Kingdom, had abdicated the Government, and ſo the Throne was become vacant.*

The Houſe of Lords was extreamly full, ſcarce one of them was abſent, except the Papiſts; and it was divided into three Parties: That of the *High-Church* inclin'd to the Princeſſes; thoſe whom we now call *Whiggs*, aſſured of good Imployments under the Prince; and a Third, very much the ſmalleſt, inclin'd to the unfortunate King, ſome out of Conſcience, but more out of Deſpair of Favour from the Prince.

Left Unfiniſh'd.

A FEAST

A FEAST OF THE GODS.

AS Sensible Men, of all Degrees, ſhew their Prudence, not only in rightly managing their Affairs, but alſo in ſeeking out for themſelves ſome Sort of Pleaſures and Diverſions; finding by Experience, that our Minds, no leſs than our Bodies, require a Relaxation, in order to be the more active and vigorous afterwards; ſo, even the Gods themſelves, tho' far above the Frailties of poor Mortals, yet are reported by *Homer*, and all the Poets of old, ſometimes to ſuſpend their graver Conſiderations, and, in plain *Engliſh*, take a Cup of *Nectar* together.

One of theſe merry Meetings was appointed t'other Day by *Jupiter*, who ſent *Mercury* (from whom I received the following Account) to invite the whole Set of

Gods and Goddeſſes to that illuſtrious Aſſembly.

AFTER they had fill'd their Bellies with *Ambroſia*, they began to talk a little freely of all their ſeveral ſorts of Worlds, ſome of which we ignorant Men call Planets, and fancy them made only for us to gaze on.

WHEN they had rambled over many of the more conſiderable Globes, they fell upon this of ours at laſt; but finding in it more Occaſion for their Anger than their Mirth, were e'en juſt going to annihilate it (which to the Gods is no more than breaking a Glaſs among Good-fellows, when they find it dirty) if *Momus* had not burſt out into a ſudden Fit of Laughter at a certain Creature in it call'd Man; who (he undertook) ſhould be a Subject able to furniſh Sport enough for the whole Feaſt, if they would but, for once, connive at his Faults, and only expoſe his Follies.

VENUS a little bluſh'd at this, for the ſake (as it was gueſs'd) of *Adonis*, *Anchiſes*, and half a Hundred more Gallants of hers: Then pertly reprehended *Momus*, for making ſo bold with a Creature that was ever accounted the very Image of the Gods; and for the ſake of ſome of which, only to pleaſe his Fancy, Almighty *Jupiter* had vouch-

vouchſaf'd to transform himſelf into a mortal Shape. But *Vulcan* bid her be ſilent for Shame, telling them he ſaw no ſuch great Difference between Creatures of two Legs, and thoſe of four, except in Vanity; in which the firſt Sort did ſo much abound, as preſumptuouſly to arrogate the Preheminence above all their Brethren, nay, profanely pretend to reſemble the very Deities themſelves. They all ſmil'd at the jealous Spite of *Vulcan*, whiſpering, that there was not much Preſumption in affecting to be like his Godſhip.

JUPITER, knowing himſelf cenſur'd for not ſpending a Thunderbolt or two upon ſuch a Race of preſumptuous Animals, ſaid, *Momus* was in the right, in thinking Mankind fitter to be ſcorn'd than puniſh'd, for ſo ridiculous a Pride, eſpecially ſince none in that divine Aſſembly had ever thought it worth their While to inform them better.

MOMUS, thus applauded by *Jove*, ventur'd at deriding the Gods themſelves a little, for ſuffering the very worſt of Men ſometimes to rule over the very beſt, in their Name, and as their Vice-gerents: Nay, *Apollo*, ask'd Permiſſion, by Way of jeſting, to make them Prophets too, as well

as

as Princes; becauſe he doubted ſome of them might hardly be able to ſpeak Senſe, without the Help of Inſpiration.

HOWEVER, they admitted of Exceptions to this general Obſervation about Princes; and eſpecially for the Female Sex: Firſt, becauſe you muſt know the Gods are extreamly well-bred; and next, you may be ſure the old merry Saying would not fail to take, at ſuch a jovial Meeting, That of, *Queens being ſtill advis'd by* Men, *while Kings are often influenc'd by* Women.

THE Gods being now grown a little tipſy, laugh'd aloud at every thing that *Momus* ſaid, though his Jeſts, as I fear you will find, did not always deſerve it.

YET he took Notice right enough of a certain great and politick *Prince, whoſe Vanity ſo much outweighs his Wiſdom, that, inſtead of cajoling a proud Nation to change their Maſter, he daily affronts them by ſome imperious Novelty or other, either about changing their Garb or Government; for want of conſidering, that Pride had rather be puniſh'd than ſlighted.

ANOTHER † Prince, lately deceas'd in Exile, was cenſur'd alſo (yet with great

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* *Lewis* XIV. † K. *James* II.

Com-

Compaſſion, amidſt all their Mirth) becauſe, tho' he not only meant to govern well, but had Talents capable of it; yet, notwithſtanding all that, he loſt three Kingdoms, meerly for want of being wiſely principled in his Youth, and inſtructed, that Kings ſhould indeed reverence the Gods, and appear decently devout, but never violently zealous for any thing beſides Juſtice, and the publick Good; which Vertue alone, they ſaid, without other Religion, is ſufficient to make them Heroes on Earth, and advance them afterwards to be Demi-Gods in Heaven.

ALL the Gods admired that odd Mixture of which his † Succeſſor was compoſed; ſo very lazy, heavy, and eaſily impos'd on by Favourites, and yet ſo very ambitious and enterprizing; which they attributed to the different Characters of his Anceſtors; who, on his Mother's Side, were *only* Sovereigns (*Henry* IV. of *France* excepted) but, on his Father's, ſuch as *deſerved* to be ſo.

YET *Jupiter* himſelf ſhew'd great Eſteem of him; but was ſuſpected a little of ſome Partiality, on account of his own Proceedings with old Father *Saturn*. He was ob-

† *William* III.

ſerved

ſerved alſo to kiſs *Ganymede* all the while they were talking of this Prince, which made the Gods whiſper to one another a litttle maliciouſly.

THERE was a certain * King in a Corner, which they had alſo a Fling at, for having made too bold with a Lunatick Brother; and for ſuffering his Miniſters afterwards to make too bold with himſelf; ſo that neither his Subjects, nor Allies, were much the better for his good Intentions. But as to his Brother, *Momus* himſelf excus'd him, ſaying, all things ſhould be judg'd by Compariſon, deſiring them to look about the World, and ſee how little Nearneſs of Blood was conſidor'd. Upon being ask'd, if he meant any particular Perſon, he deſired to be excus'd for having drank a Cup of *Nectar* too much; then ſmiling ſaid, he wiſh'd that Prince ſo well, he would adviſe him to do like the Eaſtern Monarchs, and take ſome good Phyſician for one of his Miniſters.

THERE was a † northern Prince, whom the Gods themſelves hardly knew what to make of; ſomething humourſome, very brave, mighty revengeful, indefatigable,

* King of *Portugal.* † King of *Sweden.*

and

and violently ambitious; ſome of the main Ingredients that make a Heroe. But, tho' we Mortals are counted fooliſh, who judge by Succeſs; yet the very Gods were forc'd to do it in this Caſe, and ſuſpend their Judgment of this Prince a-while, aſham'd to be puzzled by a Youth of Four and Twenty.

THEY perceiv'd another ‡ King hard by, in the ſame Quarter, much concern'd for the Loſs of a * Brother, whom many Years ago he had diſpos'd of extreamly well; yet no Body ſince ever heard one Word of him. *Momus*, laughing ſaid, the good Prince was not quite dead, tho' forc'd to breathe hard to prevent being buried; becauſe no Body perceived any other Sign of Life in him. Some of the Gods ſmil'd, and ſaid, it would be well for the Quiet of Mankind, if all Princes were as dull and inſignificant.

ANOTHER † King would ſcarce have been taken Notice of, if he had not, one Morning, taken that Title for his Morning's Draught, and declar'd himſelf to be one. But the Gods ſaid, for his Excuſe, that there was more plain Dealing in that

‡ King of *Denmark*. * Prince *George* of *Denmark*.
† King of *Pruſſia*.

Proceeding than in all the reſt of that Rank, who pretended to derive theirs, either from the Gods, or Approbation of the People, whereas neither in Reality are the leaſt guilty of the Matter.

THIS honeſt Prince (ſaid *Momus*) went more plainly to work; and becauſe no body elſe cared for him enough to do it, even took a good Reſolution, and ſet up himſelf. *Mars* frown'd, and ſaid, it was of ill Example, and againſt the Cuſtom of Princes; whoſe additional new Honours and Titles are ever wont to ariſe from Wars and Conqueſt, out of the Blood and Treaſure of their Subjects.

BUT *Jupiter* told him he was a bluſtering God, to find Fault with the only good Circumſtance of ſo vain an Action; which yet in time would make his miſchievous Godſhip Amends, by ſetting agog all the little Princes both of *Italy* and *Germany*, whoſe Mouths now water at the ſame Dignity, and, to obtain it, will never let *Europe* be quiet.

NOW came into Play an odd Animal, which *Momus* ſaid was call'd an Emperor, *juſt as a little *Indian* Bird is call'd a Pope,

* *Leopold* Emperor of *Germany*.

only

only becauſe there grows a high Topping upon his Head. Some ſaid he was above all Kings, only as their Hats are; and that he begg'd every Body's Aſſiſtance, while he would not help himſelf. Some of the Gods ſaid, they very often indeed vouchſafed to help poor Mortals who cannot, but never ſuch who will not help themſelves. However the Gods admired the odd Zeal of thoſe who devoutly preſerve their Religion in one Country, and yet at the ſame Time aſſiſt a Prince who perſecutes the ſame Religion in another.

UPON this Occaſion, *Jupiter* obſerv'd, how ſilly Mortals preſume to blame Providence for the Weakneſs, or Wickedneſs of hereditary Princes, while yet they are not much happier under thoſe whom they elect themſelves. This gave *Momus* an Opportunity of Raillery: The double Pretentions to Crowns, ſo much in Faſhion now-a-days, ariſing moſt commonly from the People's ſetting up new Princes, becauſe they always fancy thoſe beſt with whom they are the leaſt acquainted.

SOME Mention at laſt was made of a certain * People remarkable for Induſtry,

* The *Dutch*.

and